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THE CALCULATED FRIGHTFULNESS OF ASHUR NASIR APAL

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THE GLORIES of Tiglath Pileser were but fleeting. Before his reign was closed,¹ there were signs of coming trouble, and if we have no annalistic records from the succeeding period, we may be sure that there were no further glories to unfold. In turn, he was followed by two sons, Ashur bel kala and Shamshi Adad. The former built at Ashur and at Nineveh and refers in his curse to the gods of Amurru, so that he ruled, at least in name, the west country.² Only with Babylon were the foreign relations worthy of remark. Marduk shapik zer mati made a treaty of complete alliance with him and seems to have been under Assyrian overlordship. His successor, Adad apal iddina, married his daughter to Ashur bel kala who brought her with her rich dowry to Assyria, and it is no far guess that the Assyrian monarch went to Babylonia for more than a marriage ceremony.³

A premature death seized Ashur bel kala and he was buried in Ashur.⁴ He was followed by no son,—perhaps he had none, but by a brother, Shamshi Adad, whose name points to the reverence his father felt for the ancient hero whose temple he had restored. Of his deeds, we know with certainty only of the restoration of the *bit nameru* and of the Ishtar temple.⁵ To him or to his brother we may attribute certain other operations, but it is a curious failure of the gods to reward filial piety that

¹ Cf. 'Tiglath Pileser and his Wars,' *JAOS* 37. 169 ff.

² Ashur ins. to Adad, Layard 73, 2; Winckler, *Forsch.* 1. 388, n. 2; *KB* 1. 49 n.; Nineveh ins. I R. 6, 6; Strong, *JRAS* 24. 339 f.; *RP*² 6. 76 f.; Oppert, *Expéd.* 1. 288; Menant, *Ann.* 54.

³ *Synchr. Hist.* 2. 41 ff.

⁴ *MDOG* 54. 45.

⁵ III R. 3, 9 and 11; Winckler, *KB* 1, 49 n.; Budge-King, *Annals* 1. 150, cf. G. Smith, *Disc.* 252. King, *Babylon*, 129 n. 1, attributes to him the Tirqa ins., Condamin, *ZA* 21. 247 f.

the one man in all Assyrian history most noted for his care in preserving the memory of an ancestor has himself lost his own name from the record. Among the restorations of the pious unknown were the stable of the palace, the cemetery of Erba Adad, the great north terrace of Ashur nadin ahe. The ruined moat of the city wall at Ashur was cleared of its debris from the Gate of the Metal Worker to the Gate of the Tigris, and the fallen doors of the former were replaced with bronze-banded valves of ashuhu wood. The great wall of the city was rebuilt, a rampart heaped up outside it, and palaces erected within. The canal dug by Ashur dan had been for thirty years filled up. Now it was reopened and orchards were planted in its vicinity. The great quay of the Tigris Gate, first built by Adad nirari, was repaired and raised, and the great terrace of the new palace which faced the *kislatsu*, founded by Tukulti Ninib, was rebuilt. Finally, in addition to the palace at Ashur, the unknown completed the one begun by Ashur resh ishi in Apqi and made two new ones, in the city of Iskak, at the beginning of the road from Ashur, and in Aqa. Such a series of building activities demands wealth. Doubtless in part the spoils of Tiglath Pileser were utilized, and we should not forget the great dowry which was brought by the Babylonian wife of Ashur bel kala.⁶

Shamshi Adad was followed by a son Ashur nasir apal, the second of the name. Thanks to the industry of the scribes of Ashur bani apal, we have a copy of a religious composition in which he addresses the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh. When he begs relief of the goddess, declaring his ignorance of the sin which has brought disease upon his body, he may be merely following the forms set down by the pious of long ago. Personal facts are certainly to be found in his statement that he was begotten in the midst of the unknown mountains, that the goddess took him from these mountains and called him to rule over the peoples, that the statues of the gods had been burned, had been thrown down from their places, that the temples were falling into ruin. We wonder what hint of foreign origin, what indication of an invasion of Assyria lurks here, and we wonder still more at the statement that the king and his people

⁶ Broken Obl. 5. 1 ff.

alike knew not the goddess until she taught him to pray to her ladyship.⁷

The single glimpse shows us decline and then there is such darkness that we may consider ourselves fortunate in having the names of the succeeding rulers. Shalmaneser II, the son of Ashur nasir apal, dared assume again the title 'King of Kishshati.'⁸ Probably after him comes the second Adad nirari and his son, the second Tiglath Pileser. Next to him, we are to place the second Ashur rabi, and with him we have a constant succession from father to son for no less than ten generations, a second Ashur resh ishi, a third Tiglath Pileser, another Ashur dan, the third Adad nirari, the second Tukulti Ninib, the great Ashur nasir apal, counted the third of the name, the third Shalmaneser, the third Shamshi Adad, and the fourth Adad nirari, covering the space of two centuries.

Ashur rabi began his reign with misfortune, for the kings of the Aramaeans took from him the cities of Pitru and Mutkinu, situated in the great bend of the Euphrates, which had been taken and colonized by Tiglath Pileser I. Thus aroused, Ashur rabi forced his way to the Mediterranean and erected a stele on Mount Atalur where later it was found by Shalmaneser III.⁹ Yet the cities were not recovered. Ashur resh ishi, Tiglath Pileser, and Ashur dan we know only from the latter's inscription,¹⁰ but with the next in the series, Adad nirari III, we once more reach solid ground. The last three rulers bear the title 'King of Kishshati,' as well as 'King of Ashur,' so that we have once more claim to the debatable land. His own records tell us nothing but that he rebuilt the Tigris quay, moat, and canal, and a palace at Kalhu.¹¹ But we now have solid chronology, for with his accession, 911 B. C., we have the begin-

⁷ Brünnow, *ZA* 5. 66 ff.; Jastrow, *Religion*, 2. 111 f.

⁸ Rogers, *Exp. Times*, 23. 237 f.

⁹ Mon. 2. 10, 37; cf. Delitzsch, *MDOG* 32. 20 n. Rogers, *Hist.* 2. 189, believes the spot to be the Dog River just north of Beirut, but Shalmaneser has just mentioned Patin and the Amanus Mountains, and after Atalur he went to Taia and Hazazu which still exist as Kefr Tai and 'Azaz, so that Atalur must be not far from Seleucia, the port of Antioch.

¹⁰ *MDOG* 32. 19 ff.

¹¹ Smith, *Disc.* 251; Winckler, *ZA* 2. 312; *Untersuch.* 23; *KB* 1. 48 f.; Budge-King, *Annals* 1. 154; *KTA* 24; *MDOG* 26. 24; 32. 19 ff.; Andrä, *Festungswerke*, 167 f.

ning of the list of eponyms. Since this system, according to which each year in turn was named from a high official, was in use centuries before his day, we must believe that his reign marked some era in the eyes of the later historians.¹²

Following the example of his predecessors, Adad nirari pushed on to Mount Ialman, the last range of hills before the Babylonian plain is reached, and there defeated Shamash mudammiq when he attempted to make a stand in the pass.¹³ Taking advantage of this defeat, Nabu shum ishkun killed him, but had no better fortune, for he too suffered defeat and was forced to behold the plunder of his cities Banbala and Bagdadu. The final treaty was not so unfavorable to the Babylonian monarch as we should have expected. Complete alliance was contracted between the two and their daughters were given in marriage, each to the other. Nor was the boundary specially favorable to the Assyrians, for it ran from Til Bari above Zaban to Til sha Batani and Til sha Zabdani, that is, it remained at the Lower Zab and the debatable land was once more Babylonian.¹⁴ Yet there is a hint that Babylonia was in some manner subject to Assyria for there has been found in Babylon an inscription of Adad nirari which claims the erection of a palace.¹⁵ To the north, we find two campaigns directed against the Qumani, significant indication that Assyrian interest in the northern tribes is reviving.¹⁶

With Tukulti Ninib (891-885 B. C.), we once more have annals.¹⁷ In the year 889 B. C., the year in which he was

¹² Considerable discussion has been raised as to whether the year 911, with which the Canon I obviously begins, was in reality the accession year of Adad nirari. In the case of the other early kings, the monarch was eponym in his second full year, as can be proved in several instances, cf. Hommel, *Gesch.* 543. It has not been recognized that the *pa* which alone occupies the first line preserved, that for 909, is actually a misreading and we should read *m i(Adad) nir(ari sharru*, 'Adad nirari the king.' The change demanded in the cuneiform is very slight. Thus we actually do have the king as eponym the second year of his reign. The *mur* is then the name of the turtanu, and so forth.

¹³ Ialman, cf. also Shamshi Adad, 4. 11, is the earliest name of the Hamrin hills, Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 56.

¹⁴ *Synchr. Hist.* 3. 1 ff.

¹⁵ Weissbach, *Bab. Miscel.* no. 5; Koldewey, *Babylon*, 166.

¹⁶ Andrä, *l. c.*

¹⁷ V. Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip II*, 1909.

eponym, the king began his exploits with an expedition against the land of Nairi; the next year, Bi, the son of Amme Bali of Zamani, begged his aid, and came from Udi to Yate, bringing his family, his goods, and even his gods, finally appearing in Nineveh, before the monarch; in the third, a campaign was carried out in the mountains while again the monarch remained in Nineveh.¹⁸ In the fourth, the king at last took the field in person, leaving Nineveh on the first of Simanu, near the end of May. Passing by the Subnat River, he crossed Mount Kashiari and came to the village of Pan, one of the cities of Amme Bali of Zamani. The capture of two towns brought Amme Bali to the king's feet. Commodious villages were granted him, he was installed in a 'residence of peace,' and when he took the oath in the name of the lord Ashur, he was told: 'If you furnish horses to my body guard, Adad, the god who loves me, will bless you.' The booty taken from Amme Bali was divided. Two thirds went to the god, the other third was laid up in the palace.

So easy had been this first expedition that it was decided to undertake another in the same year. On the sixteenth of Tashritu, October, the army set forth from Ashur and entered the pass of the Kirruri lands, penetrating into the mountains of Urrupnu and Ishrun lands, which none of his predecessors had been able to visit. In Ladani and Lullu land, he conquered thirty villages, though passage was possible only on foot through mountains which the king calls emphatically 'a place of perdition, where the eagle of the sky could not penetrate in his flying.' From the top of the mountains of Ishrun land to the lower Zab the fugitives were pursued and found safety only when they had crossed the river.¹⁹

In the last year of his reign, 885 B. C., Tukulti Ninib made a sudden dash into Babylonia. His elaborate itinerary is not without interest to the general reader, to the geographer it is one of the most precious documents revealing the topography of the middle Euphrates region. Ashur was left on the twenty-sixth of Nisan, the middle of April. The first night, camp was

¹⁸ Ann. 1. 1 ff. Udi is the Uda of Ashur nasir apal, 3. 110; Yate the Yaeti of Shalmaneser, Obl. 90, cf. Scheil, *ad loc.* For location, cf. below. Between the two the text gives *Sa.* . . .

¹⁹ Ann. 1. 11 ff.

pitched in the open prairie. The next day, the army reached the Tartara, the dry stream bed which runs due south from the Sinjar hills until even its line is lost in the waste.²⁰ There was no water flowing but a little digging found water close to the surface and from these water holes all night long, like a gardener, the army drew up its water. After this, the road of the desert was taken up and for four days there was no sweet water as the troops followed the course of the dry stream bed. The desert might furnish nine wild bulls for the king to slay, but all were glad when once more fresh water was found at the end of the Tartara. Leaving the mouth of the stream, the army descended into the difficult region of Hamate but were fortunate to discover the canals in the field of Margani. For a whole day and night, the army remained encamped in order to secure the welcome water. Soon the Tigris was reached and the settlements of the land of Utu'ate and their cemetery, all on the banks of the stream. After Aşuşi, the Assyrians were in Babylonia proper, and so fertile was the country that the troops lost their way among the orchards which seemed to them to be veritable forests. Dur Kurigalzu, near the modern Baghdad, the great canal Patti Enlil, and Sippar marked the farthest south of the expedition.

Turning west, Tukulti Ninib reached the Euphrates at Salate opposite Dur balaṭi, and then advanced up stream to Rahimme, opposite the Rapiqu which has so often marked the western end of the line delimited between Assyria and Babylonia. The field of Kabsite and the city of Daiasheti brought them opposite Id and here we have our first reference to the petroleum deposits of Hit, 'the fountain head of bitumen, the place of gypsum stone, where the great gods speak.' Travellers have celebrated the wonders of the place, from the days of Herodotus to that of its capture by the advancing British forces, and we are not surprised that early man made it the seat of an oracle.

Continuing up the Euphrates, the long line of towns unrolls. Harbe across the river causes us to wonder whether all the modern villages of that name are in very truth "ruins." When the meadows along the Euphrates were reached, a day and a night was occupied in securing water, for after that came the

²⁰ Tarteri, H. 547; el Tharthār, Yaqut, s. v.; Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes*, 241.

rocky desert where no forage would be found. The next day's camp saw the Assyrians once more in the meadows, this time of Hudubili. Camps between Zadidani and the island town of Sabirite, opposite Suri, and the island town of Talbish, brought the invaders to Anat, the capital of Suhi land, on its beautiful island in the midst of the Euphrates, where the Suhi prince (*shaknu*) Ilu ibni brought his gifts, three talents of silver, twenty manas of gold, a throne of ivory, three ivory tables, eighteen bricks of lead, forty trunks of a valuable tree, and the usual cloths and cattle. Other camps followed, in Mashqite, opposite Harada, in Kailite, and in the land of Hindanu, opposite the capital city of that name. Its prince, Amme alaba, brought still richer gifts, gold and silver, lead, a whole talent of myrrh, precious aromatics, camels, great birds in whom perchance we may see ostriches. While tarrying here, the king hunted the *ipur* birds, catching them with their young in his hands.

The mountains now came so close to the river that it was necessary to cut a road with iron axes. Camp was pitched in Nagiate and then in the meadows of Aqarbani, where Mudada, the Laqe chief, arrived with two hundred sheep, thirty steers, and the necessary food and drink for man and beast. In Šupri, the noon stopping place, a similar amount was received from Hamataia, another of the Laqe chiefs, who had come the whole distance from Suri; and in the evening camp at Arbate a third Laqe chief, Harani by name, furnished another such ration. With the army thus supplied, and doubtless it was needed after the march through the desert stages, Tukulti Ninib continued to the field of Kaši and to Sirqu, the home of Mudada, who now furnished his formal tribute, including a talent of myrrh. Leaving what was later to be the famous Roman frontier fort of Circesium,²¹ another march through the meadows along the river brought the king to Rummunidu, where the outlet of the river Habur was reached.

No attempt was made to continue up the Euphrates. Instead, the army turned up the Habur, forcing tribute from the various Aramaean states settled along its banks. First reached was

²¹ First identified by Fox Talbot, *Assyr. Texts*, quoted Rawlinson, *Mon.* 2. 84 n. 2.

Suri, surnamed 'of Halupe,' where the king received the formal contribution of Hamataia, gold, silver, lead, copper, iron, aromatics, good oil, and two of his women with their dowry, full proof that Suri was an unusually wealthy city. The usual provisions were received in Usala and gifts somewhat below the average in Dur Katlimu. After a night in a locality whose name has been lost, Qatni, famous since the days of the Amarna letters, was reached and a tribute of lead inflicted. At Laṭihi, the Assyrians reached the borders of the Dikanni country whose capital marked the next resting place. This was the last to furnish tribute, for afterward came only hasty marches, to Duggaete, Magarisi, Guriete, Tabite, and an unknown site, Naṣipina, Huzirina, and a city which had been recently renamed 'Which Tukulti Ninib rebuilt,' Sha Tukulti Ninib ana eshshuti iṣbatuni. Of special interest is the mention of Naṣipina, for this city, still hostile in 885, headed the list of Assyrian provinces thirty-two years later, continued for long to be the ranking provincial capital, and as Nisibis remained for all time the center of its region.²²

The story of the year's operations closes with a sudden raid into the land of the Mushki, four days to the city of Piru, and with the usual story of plunder and of tribute.²³ The account closes with the works of peace: the building of palaces, the making of irrigation machines, the securing of food for the people, the hunting exploits, above all, the reconstruction of the great wall first built by Ashur uballit.

The account was written on the ninth of Arahsamna in the eponymy of Na'di ilu, governor of Qummuh, that is, toward the end of September, 885 B. C. Not many days after, Tukulti Ninib died and was succeeded by his son Ashur nasir apal. His long reign, 885-860 B. C., marks another epoch in our knowledge

²² Cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 34. 350. The Assyrian site is to be located, not at the present Nisibîn, whose earliest antiquity is the temple of Septimius Severus, but at the great mound Ger Nawās, where the stream comes from the mountains, which contains much Assyrian pottery. The change of site probably took place when Nasibina became an Antioch, Strabo 16. 1. 23; Plin. 6. 42; Steph. Byz. s. v., who gives the earlier form as Asibe, cf. the Assyrian form Naṣibna.

²³ A good discussion of the topographical questions in Scheil, *ad loc.* Other questions will be treated under Ashur nasir apal.

as well as in the actual history of the land, for once more we have annals of the fullest sort.²⁴ The march of Tukulti Ninib had shown that conditions were once more favorable to Assyrian advance. The days of comparative peace had filled up the losses incurred in those of Tiglath Pileser, and Assyria had once more resources in men as in wealth and was ready for the task of expansion.²⁵ The country actually controlled by the new ruler was small enough, at most the territory about Ashur and the provinces of Kalhu, Nineveh and Kakzi, as well as a section which could be called Qummuh. Thus we have a region some seventy-five miles on the side and half of that mountain or unirrigated prairie. In the hands of an efficient ruler, this compact country might do wonders. A thorough overhauling of the military system had apparently taken place and a new army developed in which the chariots were supplemented by a cavalry largely made up of the allies, a curious anticipation of the Roman custom, though the core still remained the native Assyrian infantry. With this went the development of the art of besieging cities and an increase of the use of the battering ram and of similar types of machines.²⁶

The two centuries which had followed the death of Tiglath Pileser I had seen no less than twelve monarchs upon the Assyrian throne, an average of less than ten years each. Since in the majority of cases father was succeeded by son, the age of each successive monarch tended to be less when he ascended the throne. Ashur nasir apal must accordingly have been a decided youth when his father died after a reign of but six years. So young a prince might well be expected to act with energy. So far as we can see, there was no absolute need of war. Babylon was too strong for Assyria safely to attack and in turn was unwilling to indulge in open warfare, however she might intrigue in secret. On no other side was Assyria threatened by a first rate power. All along the frontier, it is true, there was constant pressure, but it was the pressure of disunited states which could be no great danger to a strong government, though

²⁴ For bibliography and criticism of the sources, cf. Olmstead, *Historiography*, 15 ff.

²⁵ Cf. Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 6 ff.; Paneritius, *Kriegführung*, 74.

²⁶ The best sketch of the Assyrian war organization is still to be found in Rawlinson, *Mon.* 1. 406 ff.; for this period cf. also Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 7 ff.

any relaxation of preparation might subject the state to grave danger. Already the Indo-European tribes were close to the Assyrian frontier and the earlier settlers were being crushed between more civilized and less civilized neighbors. More to the northwest, this same pressure was driving the Haldians south and the state which the Assyrians called Urartu was being welded together behind the masking line of petty Nairi states. Before the end of the reign, the conquest of these last was to bring Urartu and Assyria face to face. More to the west, the road to the Euphrates and to the sea was blocked by the Aramaeans who, since the days of Tiglath Pileser, had swept over the whole steppe region which is today once more in the hands of the wandering Arabs. These Aramaeans were rapidly taking over the civilization of the conquered peoples and were already laying the foundation for that supremacy of the Aramaean language and customs which was to be the dominant fact in the history of Mesopotamia for the next fifteen hundred years. Beyond the Euphrates lay Syria, still largely Hittite in its northern portions, but with the Aramaeans pushing in here as well. All these disunited groups offered an easy conquest to an ambitious warrior who might well hesitate to measure his strength with Babylon.

A considerable part of the year 885 had been taken up with the expedition of Tukulti Ninib, but there were still left some months fit for campaigning. There had been no contest for the throne and Ashur nasir apal burned to accomplish something, even in the 'beginning of his reign.' He began his exploits with an attempt against the tribes directly east of Assyria, where the frontier was always too near for comfort. 'Steep mountains which for the progress of chariots and foot-soldiers had not been prepared' did not prevent his advance to the land of Tumme. Gubbe, the chief fortress of the land, in the heart of the mountains, with many another village, was taken. 'The soldiers escaped and occupied a steep mountain. The mountain was exceedingly steep, after them I did not go. The mountain rose like the point of an iron dagger, and no flying bird of heaven could reach its midst. Like the nest of a vulture within the mountain was set their stronghold, into which none of the kings my fathers had penetrated. In three days the

warrior overcame the mountain, his stout heart pressed on to battle, he climbed up on his feet, he cast down the mountains, he destroyed their nest, their host he shattered. With their blood I dyed the mountains like crimson wool.²⁷

Turning north, Ashur nasir apal went down to the land of Kirruri. No battles are mentioned and it is clear that Kirruri already admits itself under Assyrian influence, changed in less than half a century to incorporation into a fully organized province (837 B. C.).²⁸ The main object of the stop was clearly the collection of tribute, horses, mules, cattle, sheep, wine, and bronze vessels, which came from Kirruri and the surrounding lands.²⁹ During his visit here, he also received from the lands

²⁷ Ann. 1. 44 ff.—For Tumme, cf. Tiglath Pileser, 175; for Surra, *ib.* 174; perhaps also to be connected with the Sari of the itineraries, cf. below. For the Gubbe of the Monolith, the Annals have Libe. The cities Abuqu, Arura, Arube, and the mountains Urini and Aruni are unknown. Mt. Etini cannot be the same as the mountain of the same name in the Nispi region, Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 19, as that was on the headwaters of the Turnat which brings it too far south.

²⁸ Kirruri in the time of Sargon, Olmstead, *Sargon*, 118 n. 1. At this time, it was northeast of the Assyrian triangle. Is the name to be found in the Tûrâ Ghara south of 'Amadia, Layard, *Nineveh*, 1. 141? This may have been the earlier name of 'Amadia itself, for Yaqut, *s. v.*, tells us that it received its name of 'Imâdiyyeh from 'Imâd el Dîn Zengi, who founded it in A. H. 537 (A. D. 1142/3), though before there had been there a Kurdish castle called Âshib. Cf. also for the place Grant, *Nestorians*, 59 ff.; Perkins, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 22. 150 ff. Earlier occupation is proved by the Arsacid rock sculptures.

²⁹ These are Simesi, Simera, Ulmania, Addaush, Harga, Harmasa. They occur, with the addition of Sirisha, in Shalmaneser III, Mon. 1. 17 ff.; Obl. 24, where the pass of Simesi is the first locality mentioned in the first campaign, thus showing that Kirruri was already a province. Hubushkia was the next reached. Obl. 190 ends the last known campaign, that of 829, with the same pass of Simesi, thus showing again that it continued to be the border of Assyria. It seems represented by the modern Shamasha, on the upper Zab east of Jûlamerik, for which cf. Andreas, Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* 'Aluaka'. Kirruri would then be the region south of that place which would well agree with the Tura Ghara location. (The more exact location of Hubushkia by the new Sargon inscription still more conclusively proves the correctness of this situation.) Sirisha is probably preserved in the Sariskan Su further up the Zab valley. The pass of Simesi is then the breaking through of the Upper Zab west of Julamerik. For Adaush, cf. Tiglath Pileser, 174.

of Hubushkia and Gilzan a tribute of horses as well as of the metals in both crude and worked form. This wealth of metals is not surprising when we remember how iron, lead, and especially copper is found today in large quantities in the region northeast of Assyria.³⁰

Thus far, the campaign has been east of the Tigris and in the rough lands north and east of the Assyrian triangle. Now Ashur nasir apal left Kiruri and entered by the pass of Hulun the land of Kirhu which lay west of the West Tigris. Names familiar with the conquests of Tiglath Pileser are recognized, such as Hatu, Hataru, Nishtun, Irbidi, Matqia, Arsanian, the earliest name of river and town which was to cause the whole land to be called Arzanene, Tela at the Tigris ford, and Halua.³¹ All these are said to lie within mighty mountains and in the name of one, Arardi, we have a hint of the coming Urartu. Nishtun, the capital, was taken, and the inhabitants fled to a lofty mountain which was opposite the city. Though it 'hung like a cloud from heaven,' the Assyrian soldiers flew 'like birds' and conquered the 'nest on the rocks of the mountain.' When the fugitives saw the devastation of their villages, surrounded though they were by the mighty mountains, they descended and promised to pay tribute. Bubû, the village chief of Nishtun, was carried off to Arbela where he was flayed and

³⁰ Ann. 1. 54 ff.—For bibliography of Hubushkia, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 110 n. 27, and add H. 197; 434; 441. From Aridi, the capital of Simesi, probably Julamerik itself, a castle on a steep rock overlooking the Zab, Shalmaneser marched over rough country where the road must be cut to Hubushkia. This is certainly the pass above Julamerik, nearly ten thousand feet high, from which Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 423, saw Mount Ararat, and the rock cuttings he was inclined to attribute to Assyrian times may actually be traces of the road then cut. As he was following the direct road Julamerik-Van, he naturally reached next Urartu and Lake Van. The new Sargon Tablet, 307 f., shows the city of Hubushkia not far from Sert, cf. Thureau-Dangin, *ad loc.* Gilzan, according to the 829 campaign, where we have the order Hubushkia, Musasir, Urartu, Gilzan, Parsua, Simesi Pass, Obl. 174 ff., must be in the valley of the Upper Zab about Der, and with this would agree the descent from Urartu into Gilzan. Thureau-Dangin, *Campagne*, xi, places it about Salamas. For modern mines, cf. Layard, *Nineveh*, 1. 190; Grant, *Nestorians*, 69, 86.

³¹ Cf. Tiglath Pileser, 179, 182.

his skin spread on the wall of the city. Nishtun was entitled the 'City of Ashur nasir apal,' and a stele was erected at the spring head, in the mountain of Eqi.³²

In the small portion remaining of his accession year, Ashur nasir apal had swept along the whole northeastern boundary, but it had been a raid and nothing more. Spring comes late in the countries lying directly under the Armenian barrier range, and so it came about that he did not lead out his troops from the city of Nineveh, where he had taken up his residence, until the month of August. The advance was taken up where it had been left off the previous winter, in Arzanene, and the cities of Atkun, Ushhu, and Pilazi, lying at the foot of the mighty mountains of Nipur and Paşata, were captured. The country between the eastern and western branches of the Tigris might be considered sufficiently brought under the influence of Assyria, but there still remained the great block of rough land, south of the west Tigris, which was known as Kashiari. To the west and north of this was a fairly level tract, now as in the days of Tiglath Pileser known as Qummuh, and if this could be once more brought under Assyrian control, the Kashiari region could be isolated and reduced to subjection at leisure. The Tigris was therefore crossed and the men of that country vied with the Mushki in presenting bronze vessels, cattle, sheep, and wine to the conqueror. That they did this without fighting is sure sign

³² A direct road from Julamerik to the Tigris is barred by the Halakur Dag. The most probable line of march is then down the Shahbur and Bohtan streams, easy after the first passes back of Julamerik are crossed. Less probable is the assumption that he returned on his traces, going south of the Halakur down the Khabûr and up the Tigris. Hatu is Hazro on the upper reaches of the stream of that name, a branch of the Arzn Su. Hataru is rightly placed by Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 15 n. 1, at Hatera near Lijeh. For Irbidi, Budge-King suggest Sabidi. Tela is Til at the Tigris ford, Hommel, *Gesch.* 555 n. 3. Halua is Halawi, S.W. of Khaldi Dag, Maspero, *l. c.*, and Khaldi Dag itself is as clearly Mount Usu, which appears in a variant as a city, the modern Ushai north of the mountain. Arardi may be Alaruts under the border range. For Eqi, cf. Kir eqi above Saluri, Shalmaneser III, *Mon.* 2. 44. Unless Urbillum of the Ur dynasty date lists is Arbela, this is the first mention of the sacred city. It is difficult to see why a man from Arzanene should be carried so far away, especially past Nineveh, and perhaps Professor Wrench is correct in suggesting that we really have here an Erbil of the Arzn region.

that they considered themselves in some sense a part of the Assyrian world.³³

This well devised plan to isolate Kashiari came to a sudden end when news arrived that the Aramaeans on the lower Habur had assumed an anti-Assyrian attitude. Here, on the strip of territory which to our own day is considered the most beautiful and most fertile portion open to the nomad, had grown up a number of important Aramaean states. From excavation, we know something of one of these, Sha Dikanni. The settlement itself was but six feet above the water's edge. Here was found a pair of winged bulls, with a pavement slab between. Of coarse limestone, the treatment was singularly bold. The human portions show peculiarities of treatment which cannot be ascribed to early date or provincial roughness, but point rather to a different race for the models. Notable in particular is the large flat nose and the thick overhanging lips which give so negroid an expression to the face. The animal had double ears, human ones with elaborate earrings and above them bull's horns on a flat cap. Otherwise, the figures followed Assyrian style, the square cut, carefully curled beard and mustache, the hair to the nape of the neck, though the wings were shorter, the legs more stumpy, the muscles more exaggerated and more conventional. Similarly Assyrian, especially in the five legs, was a lion found in the ruins. From the interior of the mound came a relief, a full-sized male figure staring out at us, with square cut beard, hair massed on the neck and bunched out on either side, with much the same effect as in the bulls. On his head is a round spiked helmet, a flowing robe falls to his ankles, while armlets and bracelets complete the costume. The right arm swings at his side and carries a dagger while the other clasps something to his breast.

Around the city ran mud brick walls faced with cement, good baked bricks, some a foot square, and fragments of good, well-dressed gypsum, a welcome link between the gypsum of Assyria and that of Asia Minor and of Crete. Other bricks which must have come from the palace were marked with cuneiform char-

³³ The present passage proves that the places mentioned in the paragraph are in the Tigris bend in the Diyarbekr region. Mt. Nipur is surely not the same as the Nipur east of Nineveh.

acters in yellow or white outlines on a pale green ground and pottery ornaments were found decorated with flowers and scroll work, as well as terra-cotta pine cones, a terra-cotta bull's head, while western connections were indicated by several Egyptian scarabs. Sha Dikanni first meets us on the expedition of Tukulti Ninib. In the time of Ashur nasir apal, its ruler was a certain Shalmanu nunu shar ilani, whose curious name of 'the god Shalman, the fish, is king of the gods,' points to some curious form of worship. In turn, his son Nusku eshshesh and his grandson Mushezim Nusku ruled, and of the last we have an inscription on one of the bulls. His seal, with one of the usual scenes of adoration between the sacred trees and with the winged Ashur above, mute witness to his Assyrian vassalage, has been found in Tarbisi in Assyria, where it had evidently been carried off as spoil after the downfall of the state.³⁴

Thanks to the excavations, we know best Dikanni, but in the days of Ashur nasir apal the most important city of the region was Bit Halupe, not far from the junction of the Habur with the

³⁴Excavations at 'Arban, Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, 235 ff.; Oppenheim, *Mittelmeer*, 2. 19 ff. The sculptures seem to have been completely destroyed, for Prof. Wrench and I spent the morning of April 6th, 1908, in a careful search and could not find a trace. Dr. Koldewey informed us that he too had made an unsuccessful search. The walls were not found by Layard. Much Assyrian pottery now lies scattered around. For the seal, cf. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 558; G. Smith, *Assyria*, 37; Pinches, *Guide*, 128; *Cylinder Seals*, quoted Hommel, *l. c.* Peiser, *KB ad loc.*, reads for Sha Dikanni, Gar Dikanni, a good Mesopotamian form, with *gar* for *kar*, 'wall, fort.' That this is a separable element is shown by the appearance of Dikana, J. 472; Dikanni K. 3374, *Cat.* In the middle ages, we find Zab Daqân, a village of 'Arban on the Khabur, Yaqut, *s. v.* It is not impossible to argue that Gar Dikanni is preserved in Ghargân, a tell a short distance south from Arban and across the river, a situation to be noticed as Kiepert's map places Tell Gharkane on the right bank. The name 'Arban itself is early in form and occurs already in the castellum Arabian of the Disputatio Archelai, Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 43. 541, and is postulated by the equites sagitarii indigenae Arabanenses of Not. Dig. 36. 25. As 'Arban, it was well known in the Middle Ages, cf. Yaqut, *s. v.* The name was heard by Layard, but today the only name is 'Ajâje. (Note that it is not 'Adschabe, the form given by Streck, Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. *s. v.* 'Arabana'.) For the reading of the prince's name, cf. Streck, *ZA* 19. 239, who refers for the god Shulman nunu, the fish deity of the near by city of Tedi, to the list 3R. 66, II. 40e.

Euphrates.³⁵ Its ruler had been Hamataia in the days of Tukulti Ninib and he had shown his devotion to Assyria by taking a long distance with his supplies for the army. Meanwhile, during the period of Assyrian weakness, there had been growing up in the west another Aramaean state of considerable importance, and by this time the entire region within the great bend of the Euphrates and extending down the river at least as far as the Balih had come under the control of Bit Adini, forming a state little if any inferior to Assyria itself in size and in power. Adini eagerly took up the attempt to defeat its rival at its own game. If that country could gain control of one of these petty states by supporting a pro-Assyrian party, Bit Adini could do the same. So it came to pass that Hamataia was put to death and a certain Ahia baba, 'the son of a nobody whom they had brought in from Bit Adini,' persuaded Suru to join the cause of a common Aramaism.

Ashur nasir apal did not delay to return to Nineveh but marched straight through the steppe from Qummuh, leaving behind him the strictly Assyrian territory at the point where the two branches of Habur unite. Proceeding down the left bank, he forced Shulman nunu shar ilani of Dikanni and Ilu Adad of Qatni to hand over tribute. His presence in Suru secured the upper hand for his partisans. The existing government was overthrown, and the friends of Adini were seized and handed over to the king, not without the appropriate humility. They embraced the feet of the monarch, saying 'If thou wishest, slay; if thou wishest, let live; as thy heart wishes, do,' the laconic character of which did not prevent each party to the bargain from understanding just what was the advantage to each. Azi ilu, the leader of the pro-Assyrian party, was made *shaknu* or 'governor,' while the unfortunate Ahia baba was carried off to Nineveh and flayed. His 'rebel' followers had shorter shrift. With a cool delight in the recital of tortures which has not a parallel in Assyrian literature, the young prince

³⁵ Sura is Sawâr, a little above Circesium, for plan cf. Oppenheim, *Mittelmeer*, 2. 10. Ann. 3. 6 seems to prove Bit Halupe a city identical with Suru. There is no reason to read Hadippe, in fact the decisive evidence against that reading is the identification, in name if not in location of city, with the Halebieh between the Balih and the Habur, Sayce, *RP*² 2. 142 n. 3, so curiously confused with Haleb-Aleppo in the recent newspaper accounts of the British advance up the Euphrates.

tells the story: 'I erected a pillar opposite his city gate, all the chiefs who had revolted I flayed, with their skins the pillar I covered, some in the midst I walled up, others on the pillar on stakes I impaled, still others I arranged around the pillar on stakes. Many within the borders of my land I flayed, with their skins I covered the walls. As for the chieftains and royal officers who had rebelled, I cut off their members.' Strong measures may have been necessary and it may have been felt wise to detail in full these tortures as a warning against future revolts. Certainly the Assyrians were at no time tenderhearted and their wars caused suffering enough, but in the case of a Tiglath Pileser or a Sargon, one has the feeling that severe measures were taken only because political conditions seemed to demand them and that the rulers took no special joy in the tortures. With the best will in the world to explain and to extenuate, we cannot but feel that the delight in scenes of torture shown by Ashur nasir apal is abnormal, even for an Assyrian ruler, hardened by constant contact with war in an age which never had much mercy for the defeated. Perhaps this fierceness of revenge was caused by memories of outrages committed by the tribesmen on the various frontiers in the past days of Assyrian weakness, but in turn it fostered the idea of revenge which one day was to be satisfied.

For the present, frightfulness had its effect and the Laje chieftains sent in their tribute as did once more Haiani of the city which took its name from the Hindanu tribe and was to play so important a part later in the reign. Among the articles sent in by these last, we may note the *umu* stone, alabaster, purple wool, and, a rarity as yet among the Aramaean tribes, dromedaries. The regular tribute was increased and a figure of the king was set up in the palace of Haiani, an anticipation of the worship of the king and of Ashur. The effect of the campaign was still felt the next year when Ilu ibni, 'governor' of the Suhi, brought gifts of gold and silver to Nineveh. When, however, Ashur nasir apal claims that this was the first time such an event took place, we must point out that already Tiglath Pileser had overrun this very region.³⁶

³⁶ Ann. 1. 77 ff.—For bibliography on readings, cf. Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 16 n. 5. For the Amarna Qatna, cf. Sayce, *PSBA* 19, 291. Petrie identifies it with the Katma north of Tennib in North Syria, *Hist. of*

In this same 'year of my name,' the year when the king himself was eponym, bad news came from the northwest frontier. Shalmaneser I had settled a large body of Assyrian colonists in the town of Halsi Luha, a fortified place on the east bank of the Tigris to the north of Amedi. Hulai, their governor, raised the standard of revolt and marched against Damdamusa, one of the cities to which the king found it expedient to make special claim.³⁷ The Assyrian campaign was begun by the erection of a royal stele beside those of Tiglath Pileser and Tukulti Ninib at the source of the Subnat River.³⁸ At the same time, he received the gifts of Izalla, cattle, flocks, and wine, the last of special interest because of its fame from the days of the great Nebuchadnezzar to those of Christianity.³⁹ Mount Kashiari was

Egypt, 2. 316, while Knudtzon, *Amarna*, 44, places it in the region of Homs, but the Amarna passages allow and our present passage forces a location on the Khabur. Sayce, *l. c.*, identifies it with the Qadnu of the list of Seti I, 9, and the Qadnaf of Amenhotep III, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 3. 88, cf. also the Qatnu, god of Qatan, II R. 60, 30.

³⁷ If the first part of Halsi Luha is the word for 'fortress,' Streck, *ZA* 13. 89, rightly identifies it with the Luhi of the Kirhi list of Tiglath Pileser, 4. 10. No objection can be raised because the list is north and east of the Tigris while the present expedition is on the other side, as Ashur nasir apal does not claim so much as to have approached Halsi Luha. Ann. 2. 7 states that the Assyrians, by reason of want, had gone up to the mountains of Shupre land, and as Shupre land is within the Tigris arm, this points to colonists north of the river. Damdamusa must be placed at Jobêr Qale, see below.

³⁸ The old idea that this is the Tigris Tunnel has been exploded by Belck and Lehmann, *Ztf. f. Ethnologie*, 1899, 284 ff.; *Verh. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 226 ff.; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, 365 ff.; 430 ff. Note that the Upper Tigris stream is not Sebbene Su but Dibbene Su as we can testify from constant hearing when in this region. Also, the expedition did not bring the Assyrians across the Tigris. In all probability, the Subnat is to be found in the Babil southwest of Jezire, where Belck and Lehmann found fragments of a great stele of Ashur nasir apal as well as others which may be attributed to earlier monarchs, cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materiaalien*, 19 ff.; *Armenien*, 367. Rawlinson, *Athenaeum*, 1863, 1. 229, is perhaps correct in connecting Subnat with the later name for the region, Sophene. Possibly there is also some connection between Nasibna-Nisibis and Subnat. The same name seems to appear in the Supna which is a branch of the northern Khabur, Layard, *Nin. and Rem.* 1. 191.

³⁹ Later in the same year, the king received tribute from Ahi ramu, son of Iahiri, of Zalla, Ann. 2. 22. In 876, its ruler was Adad 'ume, *ib.* 3. 59 and in 867 Itti', *ib.* 94; cf. also the city Sala of H. 174. A careful study

next traversed and the fort of Kinabu was forced to open its gates. Six hundred of the defenders were slain in the conflict, five times that number burned alive, and 'not one was left alive in its midst as a hostage.' Hulai was flayed alive and his skin exposed at Damdamusa.⁴⁰ Then came the turn of the city of Mariru, also within their territory, and of Nirbu, a plain at the foot of Uhira.⁴¹ Tela, with its triple wall, was taken by storm, and the usual atrocities are varied only by deprivation of hands, noses, eyes and ears, by heaps of living beside those heads, and by the binding of heads to the vines about the city.⁴²

of the Byzantine and Syriac writers allows Socin, *ZDMG* 35. 238, to confine it to the region directly north of Nisibis. Theophylactes gives especially valuable information. Qaraja Dagħ, here called Aisumas, is expressly excluded, as are the two projecting spurs to the east, 2. 1. 3. The actual Izalla begins at the Mardin-Diarbekr road, for Maia cariri is said to be on it, *ib.* 1. 13. 4. Its eastern boundary is the Tigris, 2. 1. 4. Its wine celebrated by Nebuchadnezzar, Grotfend ins., 1. 22; cf. Theophylactes, 2. 1. 1, and for the Syriac writers, Socin, *l. c.*

⁴⁰ Kinabu must be on the Mardin-Diarbekr road, the most natural site being the splendid isolated Qal'at Zarzavān, the later 'Fort of the Kings,' rebuilt by Justinian, Procop., *Aed.* 2. 4, which we visited and planned Dec. 19, 1907.

⁴¹ Mariru belongs to the plain portion of Nirbu which is south and east of Tushhan. The impressive Aq Tepe, south of Tushhan (Kirkh) and a short distance east of Qal'at Zarzavan, in the midst of a fertile plain and with pottery from the Assyrian period, would fit well. We visited the site Dec. 18. Should Mariru also be connected with Murrin, a district of Diyar Mudar, Hazimi, quoted by Yaqut, *s. v.*? The alternative and naturally earlier name of Aq Tepe is Akhwār which is no doubt to be connected with Mt. Uhira, certainly the high country east of Qal'at Zarzavan and north of Qale Resh, called now as in Syriac times Koros Dagħ.

⁴² Tela is always identified with Tela-Constantia-Viran Shehr, as Uhira is with Qaraja Dagħ, cf. Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 20, n. 2. But Qaraja Dagħ is certainly the Aisumas of Theophyl. 1. 13. 3; 2. 1. 3, which in turn is the Sumu of Shalmaneser III, Mon. 2. 40, and Tela is simply that commonest of all names, *tell*, an artificial mound. The topography will allow only a direct advance from the Mardin pass to Tushhan, while this identification would force us to assume a great detour almost completely around the great mass of Qaraja Dagħ, through rough volcanic country; it does not allow a passage through Kashiari, and it demands that Nirbu should include the country west as well as east of Qaraja Dagħ, a virtual impossibility once one has felt in person how great a divisive influence is this mountain mass. Tela is probably the Shēkh Rā Tepe, with early pottery and much obsidian, which we visited the same day as Aq Tepe.

On leaving Tela, he advanced upon Tushhan which had been one of the earlier centers of Assyrian power in the region. In all probability it had seceded in sympathy with Hulai; at any rate, it had to be reduced anew. The old wall was destroyed and a new one erected. A palace was built and Tushhan became, what it was long to remain, the capital of a province and the center of operations against the northern peoples until its place was usurped by the now nearer Amedi. A tablet was inserted in the city walls and a stele erected with an inscription detailing the conquests in Nairi land. It is this stele which today tells us how the Assyrians who had been forced to flee across the river to the land of Shupre no longer suffered want and hunger, but were brought back and settled in Tushhan, which was made a store city for the grain and chopped straw of Nirbu. The inhabitants of that country came in and surrendered themselves, a tribute of horses, mules, cattle, flocks, wine, and bronze vessels was inflicted upon them, and they were then given permission to resettle their ruined villages.⁴³

By this campaign, the Assyrians had secured control of the level country between the Kashiari hills and the Tigris. To the north, beyond the great bend, the Aramaean state of Bit Zamani, with its capital at Amedi, was the next to invite attack, but this was for the moment staved off by Amme Ba'li who again sent tribute and again acknowledged himself under the influence of the empire.⁴⁴ Others, too, saw the coming menace and sent their gifts, Anhite of Shupre, across the river from Tushhan, Lapturi the son of Tubusi of Nirdun in the rough lands of Kashiari to the southeast, the land of Urume which lay opposite the last

⁴³ Ann. 1. 104 ff.; for Tushhan, cf. also Olmstead, *Political Science Review*, 12. 67 f.—Rawlinson, *Athenaeum*, 1863, 1. 228, compares the modern name of Tushhan, Kirkh, with Carcathiocerta, Strabo 11. 14. 2. The mound of Kirkh, visited the same day as Aq Tepe, is large and full of Assyrian pottery.

⁴⁴ Amedi is without any doubt the later Amida-Qara, Amîd-Diarbekr. That the usual change of site has not taken place is proved by the rock cuttings and by the single fragment of painted Assyrian ware found by Professor Wrench in the vacant space near the government house. For Zamani, cf. Thil Azamana, Not. Dig. 76, 21; Tell Zema, Josh. Styl. 87; Zama, Ptol. 5. 17. 7; Thamana, embraced by the Tigris after flowing around Izala, Theophyl. 2. 10. 2; Streck, *OLZ* 9. 345.

and so across the river to the north, and certain Nairi chiefs.⁴⁵ The scribe here inserts a formal expedition against Nairi land, but for it he probably had no reason but this tribute. The more hilly parts of Nirbu, within Mount Kashiari, were ravaged, their nine cities abandoned to the invader's mercy. Their mountain stronghold, Ishpilibria, to which they had all fled for refuge, was invested, and at the conclusion of the siege the usual scene of massacre occurred. Turning east, Ashur nasir apal marched into Kirhi through the pass of the city of Buliana and entered the territory about the river Luqia. On leaving the pass, he came out at Ardupa, where Ahi ramu, the son of Iahiri, of the land of Izalla, the son of Bahiani of Hatte land, and the kings of Hani Galbat all presented him with rich gifts.⁴⁶

Further advance in the securing of this frontier was checked by the news that all Zamua, the country directly east of Zaban, was leagued together under the chief of Dagara, Nur Adad, whose Semitic name points clearly to Aramaic infiltration far

⁴⁵ The route is clearly north of that taken later through Matiate-Midiad, and must therefore have followed the south bank of the Tigris for some distance east of Tushhan, probably around the mountain whose modern name, Bâb en Nir, 'Gate of the Way,' seems to point to such a pass, and then to Ba'lâni, southeast of that range, which is the Buliana of the text. The site of the city which gave its name to the pass is then to be found in the Tell Abâd a short distance farther on the road.

⁴⁶ The river Luqia is the stream which passes Ba'lâni and empties into the Tigris, its name being perhaps preserved in the Gûlûkka at its source. Perhaps it is also the Luqia of Tiglath Pileser IV, Ann. 181; Slab 1. 30. Ardupa is Erdi at the other end of the pass. Iahiri is the Iari of Kirhi of Tiglath Pileser I, Obl. 3. 21; as well as of the letter H. 173. The king then turns southeast toward Jezire. Bahiani is south of his route as he does not touch it. In 877, Ashur nasir apal left Kalhu and took the Carchemish road, the well known direct route to the west. He first stopped at Bit Bahiani and then at Izalla, so that Bahiani is east of Nisibis. As it is on the main road, it must be located either southeast of Nisibis on the Mosul route or northeast on the Jezire line. The second is the more travelled today because of the danger of attack from Arabs on the other. If this condition obtained in the days of Ashur nasir apal, and there is some reason to assume that it did, then the route taken was through Jezire, round about as it is, and Bit Bahiani would be between that city and Nisibis. It is strange to find Hani Galbat, still more Hatte, so far east, but perhaps after all the envoys had come a long distance.

within the mountains.⁴⁷ Union of these mountain tribes under Semitic leadership was a real menace, and when he learned that the pass of Babite had been closed by a wall, Ashur nasir apal at once turned his attention to this border. Leaving Kakzi, the base for all these expeditions, he marched into the pass where he decisively defeated the rebel in a great battle.⁴⁸ A large

⁴⁷In spite of the excellent work done by Billerbeck in his *Suleimania*, the topography of the whole region is still very difficult. The accounts of the scribes are confused, the country is difficult of penetration for strangers, the maps do not agree. The Cornell expedition was unable to go east of the Baghdad high road and even that was at the time far from safe. A heavy escort did not prevent our party from being fired upon once and we had several other narrow escapes. The new data of the Baghdad sheet of the British International Map on the scale of one to a million has, however, permitted the localization of the sites with a maximum error of rarely over ten or fifteen miles.

⁴⁸The name may be found in the Biban near Altyn Köprü, but the actual pass must be the 'broad opening in the Kara Dag known as the Bazian Pass,' Murray, *Asia Minor*, 323. The basis for all investigation must be two itineraries. One, Johns, *Deeds*, no. 1096; *Laws*, 380 f.; Peiser, *Mitth. Vorderas. Gesell.*, 6. 3. 40 ff., has the days separated by lines; the other is the letter H. 635, Harper, *AJSL* 19. 229. Both seem to follow the route taken by Ashur nasir apal's army. We may also add to the material for this region a letter from Shamash bel usur, a Sargonid officer, who had gone to Arzuhina to secure horses, H. 408; Berry, *Hebraica*, 11. 178 f. Itinerary I begins at Bagarri, otherwise unknown, but evidently not far from Zaban, and proceeds to Sari. This is probably the Saraush, with nominative ending, of Tiglath Pileser I, Ann. 3. 73 and the Surra of Ashur nasir apal, Ann. 1. 46. In the letter of the horse dealer, Naid ilu, H. 192; S. A. Smith, *PSBA* 10. 158; Delitzsch, *BA* 1. 204, horses are brought, seemingly in one day, from Sare to Urzuhina on the way to the capital. It also is found in the business documents J. 383, 414. Compare the Siraganon where Chosrhoes won the empire from Varanes, Theophyl. 5. 8. 9, which may be identified with the Sarash Dag east of Taza Khurmäti. Itinerary I goes on from Sari, passes through Arzuhina, Gök Tepe, cf. Tiglath Pileser, 183, and ends the day at Tel Arzuhina, evidently the pre-Assyrian site. The second day led to Dur Sissete, 'the fort of the horses,' naturally to be connected with the horse trade indicated by the letters. Not far from here, if not identical, must be the Dur Atanate which was the first stopping place of Itinerary II and which is also mentioned in the Shamash bel usur letter. Day III led to Maturaba and to Dur Talite which is also found in our two other sources. Peiser, 42, compares the Dur Telite of Sargon, Ann. 365, but this is in Elam and too far south. After the mention of Dur Talite, Itinerary II intercalates a line, ^{a1}Tarhai upasuku. This seems to refer to a side trip, for the next line

number of the fortresses of the region were taken by assault but Nur Adad managed to escape to the mountains and the king was forced to be content with the submission of the towns of Dagara and Bara.⁴⁹ A second expedition from the same base started in October and this too entered the pass of Babite. From the city of that name, the road led to Mount Kinipa, which the Assyrians identified with the Mount of Nišir on which the Babylonian Noah was supposed to have landed after the Deluge. We cannot blame the Assyrians for making the identification for it was indeed a "peak like the point of an iron dagger," as the scribe declared, and its isolation, added to its almost ten thousand feet in height and its snow which lasted till May, made proud indeed the boast of the happy monarch who first of Assyrians saw the 'Mount of Salvation.'⁵⁰

once more begins with Dur Talite, which is accordingly the stopping place for both travellers. The middle of the fourth day brought the author of I to Babite which is also in the letter.

⁴⁹ The fortresses were Uze, Berutu, and Lagalaga. Berutu was taken the next year, Ann. 2. 49. Lagalaga is the Lagabgalagi of Itinerary I at which the fourth night was spent and the Tagalagi of the horse dealer's letter and of the other letter H. 701. As the author of the itinerary reached the Raddani or Radanu river the middle of the next day, the town must be located at the eastern outlet of the Babite pass. No advance is mentioned after the battle in the pass until we are told of the departure from the city of Dagara. It, too, must have been situated near the pass. The failure to mention the Radanu, as is done in the account of the later campaign and in Itin. I, can only mean that the army did not cross it. As the itinerary crossed it only half a day from Babite, its author must have been going southeast. The army, by elimination, must therefore have been going north and this is confirmed by the omission of any mention of mountains and Bara is actually in the plain, II. 45. This brings it close to the Lower Zab, where above Zaban we have already found a Til Bari, the ancient Bara.

⁵⁰ For Nišir, cf. the Deluge Tablet 141. The name Kinipa may be preserved in the Khenabi at the point where the Arbela-Suleimania road crosses the Lower Zab, cf. Murray, *Guide*, 323. The mountain can be no other than the splendid Pir Omar Gudrun or Pir i Magdurin, 9,700 ft. high, cf. Murray 325. This range is called Khalkhalan by Billerbeck, but the International Map gives this name to the highland south of Taktak, well to the west. Luli, an alternative name for the Zemkan Rud, seems to have preserved the Lullu name. The close connection of Larbusa, Dur Luluma, and Bunasi with both Bara and Arakdi shows them in the valley between the Toqma and Pir Omar ranges. The first and third are on Kinipa.

Ashur nasir apal then took Bunasi with its surrounding villages and the Assyrians marched from their camp to the cities on the sacred mountain. After taking the town of Larbusa, belonging to Kirtiara, he returned to camp, making it a center from which to ravage the surrounding lands. Zamua might be considered pacified. It was placed, we are told, under one ruler, in other words, an attempt was made to establish the province which meets us in the next reign (830 B. C.) as Mazamua. Arakdi was taken as capital and renamed Tukulti Ashur aşbat, 'in the strength of Ashur have I taken it.' From this new center, the Assyrians marched all night to the mountain of Nispi, in a territory belonging to Nur Adad. The conquest of Berutu was proclaimed,—and then the account of the year's campaigning comes to such an abrupt end that we may be sure at the very least that neither expedition had produced such results as the scribe would have us believe.⁵¹

We are not surprised, then, that while Ashur nasir apal was still wintering at Nineveh, he received news that two Zamua

⁵¹ It is curious that our first mention of Tukulti Ashur aşbat should be when the army is leaving the city, still more strange when we realize that it is the city 'which the Lullu people call Arakdi' of Ann. 2. 77, for this too has not been mentioned. The campaign against Bunasi was made from a camp, to it he 'returned,' it was from 'that camp' that he marched against Larbusa, to it again he came back, only to march forth against Bara. It is not said that he once more came back to the camp but the sudden appearance of Tukulti Ashur aşbat seems to show that the city was identical with the camp. If so, we have another proof that these lands did not lie so far east as Billerbeck assumes, for they cannot have been far away from Arakdi or a series of raids could not have been carried on from it as a camp and not as a base for more extended warfare. Arakdi occurs in Itin. I, in the middle of the fifth day, and in the letter. According to the former, it is two and a half days from Babite, but as the two days it gives from Dur Talite via Babite, Lagalagi, the Radanu, to Asri, is but a day in Itin. II, which ends at this point, we must reduce the distance to a day and a half. The later references in Itin. I make it certain that the road now turns southwest down the Radanu valley, so that we must look for Arakdi where the Suleimania road crosses the Radanu, that is, where the Ta'ûq stream leaves the Qara Dagh. Billerbeck, *l. c.*, places it at the similar position on the next important stream to the south, the Tuz Khurmati river, but this is a good 70 km. in an air line from Babite, far too great a distance for the Itineraries, not to speak of the fact that we need that position for Attila-Dur Ashur. Monolith adds 'In the midst of Mt. Gamru and Mt. Edinu.'

chiefs, Ameka and Arashtua, had refused to pay tribute, and that the scribe gave this as the cause of a third expedition. Again the chariots and foot soldiers were collected at Kakzi. Toward the end of May, 881, the Lower Zab was crossed, the pass of Babite once more traversed, and then the Radanu, the king soon after reaching the mountains of Simaki. The tribute of Dagara was brought in as was that of Hudun, Hartishu, Hubushkia, and Gilzan, though what the last two are doing so far south is not evident. The country about Simaki was plundered as far as the Turnat river, Mount Aziru was laid waste, and the city of Mesu, their stronghold, was taken.⁵² At the same time, too, the Zamuan city of Atlila, originally founded by a king of Karduniash named Sibir, was rebuilt and surrounded by a wall, a palace was erected, grain and chopped straw stored up in it, and its name changed to Dur Ashur.⁵³

⁵² The main Radanu stream was evidently crossed above Arakdi. Simaki, which extends to the Turnat, is evidently Gilzerda, for the march is made to Atlila which shows that the army is still in the long valley between the Qara Dag and the Khalkhalan-Zegirme Dag. Mt. Aziru is rightly compared by Peiser, 42, with the Asri of the Itineraries, which is closely fixed to a situation north of Arakdi in the Radanu valley. Asiru would then be the mountain east of that city, part of the Khalkhalan Dag. The events in Ann. 2, 80-86 are said to have happened 'while I remained in the land of Zamua.' The fact that it deals with Simaki and is still north of the Turnat shows that we have a dislocation here. In spite of Billerbeck, 37, we may compare the Messi of Shalmaneser III, Obl. 121; Shamshi Adad, 2. 42; Adad nirari, Kalhu 7; and the Misi Andia of Sargon, Display 37.

⁵³ From Arakdi, *via* Hualsundi and Napigi, Itinerary I went two hours, 24 *ush*, 24 cubits to Dur Ashur. Three hours march down the valley would bring us to the outlet of the Aq Su from the hills, where there is a ruined fort, Qala'jyq, on the inner side of the pass, at the spot where 'the shortest route from Baghdad to Suleimania' enters the mountains, Murray, *Guide*, 304. This situation explains, what would otherwise have been a puzzle, how the Babylonians could have held a position in Zamua. As we know, Babylonia at this time extended well north of the Hamrin hills, that is, it included the country about Kifri. This would be exposed to raids from the tribes to the east of the Qara Dag, and the foundation of Atlila, just within the main pass leading out of this range, did not mean attempted conquest, but merely the foundation of an outpost to close the pass against such raids. The continuation of the Itinerary proves still more conclusively this locality for Atlila. The eighth day led through Tarzini to Banbala, already known to us from its capture about 900 B. C. by Adad nirari, *Synchr. Hist.* 3. 12, and which seems to have lain south

From the foot of Mount Simaki, an all-night march brought a picked body of chariots and cavalry across the Turnat to Mamli, the fort of Arashtua, who would seem to have been the ruler of all the land thus far acquired. Mamli was taken, its streets filled with corpses, and its houses dyed with the blood of its defenders. Hudun with its twenty dependent cities was also brought under Assyrian sway. Kisirtu, the fortress of Sabini, was taken and destroyed, and the same claim is made, though with a suspicious lack of detail, in the case of the already mentioned Bara, Dura, and Bunisa, the territory of which was reduced as far as the pass of Hashmar. From these cities of Arashtua, the troops advanced between the steep mountains of Lara and Bidirgi over a pass not suitable for horse or for chariot, and reached Zamru, the capital of Ameka. For some time, Zamru remained the center of operations. Ameka himself managed to escape to Mount Etini, leaving his palace to be plundered of furniture and implements, of a bronze bull which must have had some religious significance, and of his royal chariot. Ashur nasir apal crossed the Lullu river and drove Ameka out of his place of refuge. After returning to his camp at Zamru, he once more marched in pursuit of Ameka, crossed the Edir river, and slew a mighty host of his soldiers in the mountains of Sua and Elaniu. How great was this 'mighty host' is shown by another account of the same battle which the scribe has inserted into the annals without noticing that it is a duplicate, for in it Ashur nasir apal boasts that in the plain opposite Parsindu he killed fifty foot soldiers and took twenty alive! Another expedition from Zamru as a base was to the Nispi region where the towns of Arzizu and Arsiandu, belonging to a certain Ata, were taken. On his return to camp, he received the tribute of various bronze

of the Hamrin hills. The ninth day, the road ran by Ishdi dagurrai to Gupni Bel Harran, the 'Vine of the Lord of Harran,' a distance of one hour, five *ush*, fifty-four cubits. This points to a thickly settled country and so one on the level, not within the mountains. The tenth and last went *via* Dur Adad rimani and another place whose name has been lost to Dur Tukulti apal esharra. The fort, which took its name from Adad rimani, the eponym of S42, was boundary to the city Du'ua in 747, J. 412, and is the Birte sha Adad rimani of the letter H. 441. The fort of Tiglath Pileser was erected by the last ruler of that name, Clay Ins. 1. 40. The route seems still to follow the Baghdad road and it may therefore be identified with some plausibility as the fine large mound at Eski Kifri. The Itinerary ends, 'from Ishdi-da(?) -gur to . . . the sea.'

objects,—the frequency of references to bronze in this region is worthy of notice,—from the land of Sibiamena whose inhabitants ‘speak like women.’ Then, leaving Zamru for the last time,—and we too hear of it again only when the Hebrew prophet bracketed Zimri with Elam and the Medes in his fierce denunciation,⁵⁴—he cut out his way with iron hatchets and copper axes through the difficult Mount Lara and so back to the city of Tukulti Ashur aşbat, ‘which the men of the Lullu land call Arakdia.’ Then follows the boast that ‘all the kings of Zamua feared before the fury of my weapons and the terror of my lordship and my feet they embraced.’ A very definite list of tribute follows. In spite of the boasts, he admits that he cut his way back to his provincial capital, and this means but one thing, that no other road was open, that his line of communications had been cut by the enemy.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Jer. 25: 25. But note that of the Greek versions only Aquila has it.

⁵⁵ Billerbeck places the country to the south, Maspero to the north, of the country just considered. The basal fact is the statement of the king that he cut his way through Mt. Lara to Arakdi, that is, Lara is the part of the Qara Dagħ back of Gök Tepe. Zamru then must be located in the valley east of that range and this location is confirmed by the finding there of Tamar, the modern representative of Zamru. From Zamru, the Nispi region was reached and this must be the north part of Gilzerda Dagħ, thus tying in to the earlier mapping. Another expedition reached Mt. Etini, the Edinu which the Mon. adds to Ann. 2. 48 as being in the Nispi country. The Lallu river, crossed before reaching Etini, must be the small stream which flows into the Gopal from the south and the Edir the other branch of the Gopal. Mt. Sua must be connected with the Uze of 2. 29, another topographical tying in for proof, a connection hitherto unnoticed because the Sabua of the Ann. has been taken as correct. Mt. Elaniu must be in the same region, as must be the other cities, Arasitku, Ammaru, Parisindu, Iritu, and Suritu. The approach to Zamru was by the pass between the steep mountains of Lara and Bidirgi, therefore the latter is the upper part of the Qara Dagħ or the patch of high country north of it and across the Ta’uq Chai. The Simaki expedition across the Turnat, that is, the Khanjiru Chai, was a mere raid, made in the night by a picked party of cavalry and chariots and is not a part of the main line of advance. Through failure to understand this, the reconstruction of Billerbeck is entirely incorrect. In these campaigns, the Monolith consistently gives more correct names than does the Annals. The latter reads Ammali, Su or Sabua, Arsindu, Sipirmena, for the Mamli, Sua, Parsindu, Sibiamena of the former. For references to the Turnat-Diyala, cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 186; for Hashmar, only here definitely located, cf. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 30 n. 3.

Whatever the fortunes of his Zamua campaigns, Ashur nasir apal next turned his attention to the opposite frontier. Crossing the Tigris in June, 880 B. C., he led his army westward to the land of Kadish haru and the city of Apku in the steppe. In the country opposite the city of Malţena in Hatte land, five lions were killed, and some of the magnificent reliefs of the Kalhu palace are devoted to the theme. We see the helmeted Assyrian foot soldiers, smiting short sword against small round shield, and thus acting as beaters up. One lion, mortally wounded, already lies under the feet of the prancing chariot horses, the other has been barbed by the royal arrows and rises up with widely extended mouth, a magnificent figure, clutching the chariot axle. The driver hastens on his three steeds, but the king scorns escape and, leaning backward with drawn bow, is ready to give the king of beasts his *coup de grace*. Another scene shows us the triumph, the king leaning on his bow, his cup raised in his right hand, ready to pour out upon the dead lion. Around him stand his attendants and high officials, while bearded men pluck the zither to celebrate his might.⁵⁶

The army then turned northeast to Qummuh, where a palace was consecrated at Tiluli, the first attempt to organize the province later known as Tille. A wedge of unconquered territory yet remained, the country between Qummuh, Tushhan, and Mesopotamia, which was formed by the Kashiari. Entering the pass of Ishtarate, that is, of the Ishtars, on the border of Qummuh, Ashur nasir apal advanced to Kibaki and Matiate, in the heart of the mountains. With its surrounding rock cities, the latter was captured, and a stele with the figure of the king set up. Then followed the taking of Bunnu and the fort of Masula and an advance to Zazabuha, where he was presented with the tribute of Kirhi, including bulls in bronze. Turning east, he reached Irsia, a magnificent castle site, where he received

⁵⁶ For this year, we have the contemporaneous Kirkh stele and for this too the Monolith is a contemporaneous source. Kadish haru may possibly be a sacred canal. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 572 n. 3, cft. the Kadishions between Sinjar and Tur Abdin, Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 33. 157. Apku is probably the same as that in the Broken Obl. 5. 34. The reading Malţena is preferable to the common Malhina, though it is not probable that this is the Melitene of Asia Minor. For the lions, Nimrud Gallery, no. 3 f.; 36; Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures*, xii, xix, xlii.

the tribute of the nearby Sura, another fine castle on a steep hill which blocks the valley farther up. Madaranzu was the next to be surrendered and from this Ashur nasir apal for six days cut his way through the mountains of Kashiari, until he reached the lands of Nairi, the lower lying lands to the south of the Tigris. Shigishu was taken and Madara, the capital of Lapṭuri, the ruler of the land of Nirdun. The city with its walls was exceedingly strong, but it was destroyed. The lives of the defenders were spared, the tribute was brought in to the king in Tushhan, and the destruction of the sixty strongholds belonging to Lapṭuri and located at the foot of Kashiari is assigned to this same convenient time.⁵⁷

From Tushhan, the picked chariots and cavalry were transported across the Tigris by rafts and marched all night. Before sunrise, they reached Pitura, the strong place of Dirra, with its double wall and its 'citadel that was like the peak of a mountain.' Two days the city held out and was then taken by assault. The usual heaps of living men and of heads were piled up opposite the city gate, other unfortunates were impaled, and still others burned in the fire. Forty cities of the land were reduced to dependency and forty of their soldiers taken alive, a sufficient proof of the artificial character of these numbers,

⁵⁷ Tiluli-Tille is evidently the Tela-Constantia-Viran Shehr. From this, the army would march east to Mardin, and the pass of Mardin must be that of the Ishtars. The advance was probably by Zarnoqa, the return via Qullith. That Matiate is to be identified with Midiad has probably been discovered independently more times and with more disputes as to priority than any other fact in Assyrian topography. The first identification, completely ignored by later scholars, was by H. Rawlinson, *Athenaeum*, 1863, 1. 228. According to Sachau, Zazabuha is Zāz, *ZA* 12. 51, n. 1. Irsia is Qale Resh, a magnificent late Roman castle, visited by Professor Wrench and myself under the guidance of Dr. A. N. Andrus of Mardin. So far as we know, no other western travellers have reached it. At the same time, we also saw Saur, the site of Sura. Hommel, *Gesch.* 659, n. 1., suggests that Madar Anzu is the Madar of Alzu-Enzite. We might possibly read Madar ilSu, for we actually have a reference to the god Su in 2. 107. We should also compare Madara which immediately follows and which must be identified with Mathra on the northwest slope of the Koros Dagħ, Streck, *ZA* 13. 79. Variant readings for Shigishu are Shinigisha, Shigisha, Shigishu, Shengisha. The difficult mountain region is Shekh Mus, and Nirdun is Mirdon on the south bank of the Tigris, opposite the Batman Su, Streck, *l. c.*

even if the annals of a generation later did not give fifty in each case. Arbaki, the nearest city over the border in Kirhi, was the next objective. The people fled to the mighty mountains of Matni and hither the king went in pursuit. According to the original account, set up near the scene of the events, one thousand were killed, two hundred had their hands cut off, and a similar number were carried away prisoners. By the time the report reached Kalhu, the last two hundred had grown to two thousand. Such feats of arithmetic do not induce confidence in the scribe when he tells that two forts of Arbaki and two hundred and fifty well fortified towns of the Nairi tribesmen were taken. Their harvests, at least, were plundered and the grain and chopped straw thus secured stored up in Tushhan.⁵⁸

We have already seen how Amme Bali had paid tribute to the king and to his father. By such action, he openly admitted vassalage to Assyria and to the same degree he became obnoxious to the patriotic party which in all probability was acting under the influence of the rapidly growing power of Urartu in the north. Amme Bali was put to death by his nobles and Bur Ramanu took his place. A satisfactory excuse for intervention was afforded, and Ashur nasir apal started off to avenge the slain Amme Bali, an easy task and one affording much booty. The list is interesting as showing what was the treasure of one of these second-rate Aramaean kings. First of all, as might be expected from a people so close to the desert in ancestry, come the 460 horses, the forty chariots, the harness and trapping for man and for beast. Further testimony to the recentness of their abandonment of the nomad life is furnished by the 2000 head of cattle and the 5000 sheep. Metals were fairly common. Two talents of silver as over against the same of gold hint that the white metal was still of relatively high value, and the three hundred talents of iron, as compared with the hundred of lead

⁵⁸ Ann. 2. 103 ff.—Bitura is probably Batrik, northeast of Diarbekr and across the river, with an artificial mound which we saw from that city. Ann. 3. 100 shows Dirria east of the Amadani pass, that is, between Media and Arghana. Matni is the Ashyt Dagh, and its name is preserved in Madin to the north. Iaia is the Aia of Tiglath Pileser I, Ann. 3. 42. Kukunu, *v. l.* Kushunu, was in the pass of Matni, coming from Pitura. The identification of Arbaki with Albagh N.E. of Assyria, Andreas, Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* 'Aluaka,' is only to be warned against.

and the two hundred of bronze, excites our notice because of the unusually high ratio of the comparatively new metal. That the Aramaeans were already settling down to the industrial life they later so completely dominated is indicated by the vessels, pans, bowls, cauldrons of bronze, couches of ivory overlaid with gold. The chief's sister and the daughters of his nobles were forced to enter the royal harem, and an additional 'aid' was exacted under pretense of the dowry demanded for so august a marriage. Bur Ramanu was flayed alive and his skin exposed on the city wall of Sinabu. In his place, his brother Ilanu was made ruler, and a tax of two manas of gold, and thirteen of silver, 1000 sheep and 2000 measures of barley, laid upon him, a remarkably low rate as compared with the figures of the official tribute lists dating from Sargonid times. Sinabu and Tidu, forts erected by the first Shalmaneser to guard against Nairi but which had been taken by the invading Aramaeans, were recovered, and the Assyrian colonists who held the forts for Assyria in the Nairi country were once more settled therein. Fifteen thousand Aramaean Ahlame, who had been in the service of Amme Bali, were carried away to Assyria, while the Nairi harvests were stored in the cities of Tushhan, Damdamusa, Sinabu, and Tidu. Over them was placed a governor, doubtless the official whose headquarters were at the first named place. While in Damdamusa, Ashur nasir apal also received the tribute of Shupre, silver, gold, bronze, lead, iron, beakers and other vessels, flocks, herds, and horses, and on his return journey he took the city of Shuru in Hani Galbat.⁵⁹

The close of the year 880 B. C. marks the end of the first period of the reign, at least so far as concerns our sources. The Monolith and the Kirkh inscriptions fail us and we are henceforth confined, with rare exceptions, to the latest Annals recen-

⁵⁹ Ann. 2. 118 ff.; Kirkh 2. 42 ff.—Among other Nairi places said to have been conquered are Nirdun, Luluta, Dirra, Aggunu, Ulliba, Arbaki, Nirbu. Lulutu is the La'la'te of Adini, Shalmaneser III, Mon. 1. 30, perhaps also the Lulati of Thothmes III, 142, cf. Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 64, n. 1. Aggunu may be the Harba Jan north of Diarbekr. Ulliba occurs again in the Assyrian Chronicle under 831, where it corresponds with the Kirhi of the Obl., as well as in 739. A settlement in it, in connection with the foundation of the provincial capital of Ashur iqisha, is mentioned by Tiglath Pileser IV, Slab, 1. 28; 2. 43; Clay 1. 43.

sion. To this period, too, belong most of our building inscriptions, and with the year 879 we find the expeditions starting from Kalhu, the new capital.⁶⁰ But it marks no epoch in the history of the campaigns themselves. The successful expedition of the preceding year against the Aramaeans of the north was followed in the next June by an attack on the tribes of the same race who were settled farther south in the steppe. Assyrian territory could not have extended far beyond the Tigris, for soon after crossing he reported much tribute 'on that side of the river.' The first stop was made at Tabite, on one of the eastern branches of the Habur. Two weeks after leaving Kalhu, he departed from Tabite, entered the land of the river Harmish, and halted at Magarisi. Thence he marched into the Habur region and proceeded down the left bank to Dikanni. Next followed as camping grounds Qatni, then Dur Katlime, Bit Halupe, and the Euphrates was reached by Sirqi. Following the stream in its downward course, he passed Anat in its island and came to Suru, fort of Shadadu, the 'governor' of Suhi land, who had trusted to his Kashshite neighbor, Nabu apal iddina of Babylonia. The three thousand soldiers sent under the leadership of his brother Sabdanu availed as little as the equally valuable aid furnished by the Babylonian seer Bel apal iddina, and Shadadu saved his life only by plunging with a few followers into the Euphrates, leaving his city and his Babylonian allies to become the prey of the invader.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Ann. 3. 1; cf. Hommel, *Gesch.* 576.

⁶¹ Ann. 3. 1 ff.—Location of Thebeta fixed by Peutinger Table xviii m. p. from the Nisibis road, confirmed by unsuccessful siege of Thebothon by Marcianus after defeat of Persians at Sargathon near Nisibis, Theophyl. 3. 10. 5. First classical reference, Arrian, *Parthica*, Steph. Byz., s. v. From here came the *equites sagittarii indigenae Thibithenses* of Not. Dig. xxvii, while the name lasted on to Syriac times, as Tebeth, Land, *Anecd. Syr.* 3. 256; cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 33. 157; Sachau, *ZA* 12. 43. Sayce, *RP²* 2. 162, n. 5, says the Harmish is the 'classical Hermos,' but this seems due to confusion with the well known Hermos of Asia Minor, at least I know of no Hermos in Mesopotamia, though the two forms are doubtless connected etymologically. In classical times it was called the Mygdonius, cf. e. g., Julian, *Orat.* 1. 27B; 2. 62B ff. The earlier name reappears as the Nahr Hirmās in Ibn Serapion 12, and then often in the Arabic authors. For Magarisi, cf. Tiglath Pileser, 181. The city of Hindani was among those in revolt in the days of Shamshi Adad, 1. 50. Note that Toffteen, *AJSL* 23. 356, is quite wrong when he identifies Haridi with the Harda

For the first time in Assyrian history, the sculptures come to our aid in revivifying the campaign. We are shown the king in his chariot, shaded by his parasol, and being drawn over the hills which border the stream. After him march his body guards, sturdy infantry and cavalry with horses adorned with elaborate trappings. In his chariot, again, he smites the foe with arrow drawn as by Ashur whose winged figure floats before him, and with him are archers in chariots who guard the two standards of the army. Other archers are on horseback, their whole strength devoted to the fighting, for a companion rides by the side of each and holds his horse's rein. Others yet are

of the letter H. 424, for the context shows that that place is located between Amedi and Urartu, and its name is today Horta, east of Lije. The unknown mountain is the present Jabârieh, the earlier Dausar, Yaqut, s. v. Shabaia is the modern Wadi Suâb, Haridi is Wredi on an island in the stream, Billerbeck, map in *Encycl. Biblica*, though why we should place a second Haridi at Halebiêh is not obvious. Why previous editors preferred here the reading Il-at for An-at is a psychological mystery, in view of the mass of evidence for the latter form. Now that the Tukulti Ninib annals spell it out A-na-at, it is to be hoped that Ilat will disappear. Its first appearance is probably the country named Hana or Hani, cf. also Hani Galbat. In the age of Hammurapi, Hanatki is near Suhi and the Euphrates, *CT* 4. 1; Sayce, *PSBA* 21. 24; Peiser, *MVAG* 6. 3. 50; Streck, *ZA* 19. 252, n. 1; *Klio*, 6. 197. Anatu is found in the Assyrian documents J. 23, 168, 228, 385. Miss Bell was informed that within the memory of the oldest inhabitants there had existed on the northern end of the island big stone slabs "with figures of men upon them and a writing like nails," and she herself saw 'a fragment of stone with carving in relief which was unmistakably Assyrian,' *Amurath* 97; cf. also Viollet, *Mém. de l'Acad.* Ser. 1, 12. 2. (1909). Ana is frequently mentioned in later times, as Anatho in the Stations of Isidore of Charax; as the island Anatha taken by Julian, *Amm.* 24. 1. 6; as Anatho again when in the days of Chosroes it belonged to Persia, Theophyl. Simoc. 4, 10, 4; 5, 1, 2; 2, 3. Yaqut devotes much space to Ana, noting how the poetical form is the plural, 'Ānât, and how it was a strong fort. Cf. also especially Peters, *Nippur*, 145 ff.; Bell, *Amurath*, 97; Banks, *Bismaya*, 55, and for the later evidence Scheil, *Tukulti Ninip*, 42. Sura is to be found at the Wadi Sur. Is it more than a coincidence that this Shadadu is so similar to the modern Shadâdi on the Khabur? For such survivals of personal names in place names, cf. e. g., the Hanunu of Gaza and the modern Bêt Hanûn, Olmstead, *Sargon*, 54 n. 28. Streck reads the SHA DU as Kudurru and takes the second DU as *amelu*, but it is quite unusual to have such a foreign name given with ideographic spelling and the identity with Shadadi may also have some weight.

on foot and it is clear that in the days of Ashur nasir apal the chief reliance was on the bow. The same is true of the enemy, for the majority are also bowmen. Needless to remark, the scenes always show Assyrian success and the enemy usually is already in flight, begs mercy with uplifted hand, or his corpse, often dismembered, lies under the feet of the prancing horses and the vultures await their prey. An unusually vivid picture shows the flight of Shadadu, who, undeterred by his all enveloping cloak, has seized an inflated goat skin and by its aid is being rapidly carried down stream. Behind him floats his son, also buoyed up by a skin, and an unfortunate elder must swim for his life without even this frail aid. On the other shore stands the towered and battlemented town, with an anxious old man who has laid aside his bow while he watches the struggle and in this he is accompanied by two women. Assyrian archers have taken up their stand amid the palms and olives along the river bluffs and from thence shoot at the unfortunates in the stream.

Then comes the repose in the camp, a circular enclosure with battlemented walls, and divided into four equal sections by broad streets crossing at right angles. Within may be seen the slaughter of the steer, the preparation of the food, the baking of the bread, the drawing of the wine from the jars set in the supports. Outside is the royal pavilion, entered between posts on whose top stand ibexes ready to spring, and before it horses surround the manger or are being curried down. Before it, too, stands the scribe, who receives and notes down the miserable captives with arms bound behind them who are being threatened by an Assyrian soldier armed with a mace.

The next day, the chariot is dismantled and with much prying and heaving is placed upon a kelek, a raft laid upon inflated skins, or a qufa, a round basket of reeds, held together with bitumen, which bobs like a cork in the current in spite of the efforts of the two steersmen to pole it in the direction it should go. Under the eyes of the monarch standing on the shore, the soldiers inflate the goat skins and launch themselves with their aid upon the current. The swimming horses are guided by ropes in the hands of the men on the kelek which carries the royal chariot.

Arrived at the other shore, men rush into the stream and drag the raft out by ropes slung over their backs. The army

disembarks and parades around the city, under the eyes of the women on the wall above. The defenders are driven back into the city or are poignarded or dismembered by Assyrian foot soldiers. The siege then begins. The king shoots his arrow against the doomed city. A prominent group consists of a *corps d'élite*, distinguished by the fez-shaped headdress, whose only protection is a small round shield held before them by their squires. Most commonly, however, the soldiers are bareheaded and are protected by the rectangular wicker shield. As a proof of the accuracy of their shooting, hostile soldiers are seen dropping from the walls.

The main reliance of the Assyrians was in their siege engines which in very truth sometimes permitted the capture of a town in a single day, according to the Assyrian boast. One hardy Assyrian ascends a ladder. Others dig holes in the walls. Still others take their place in the high movable towers, covered with hides, which make them equal to the men on the walls. Most terrible were the battering rams, which could be wheeled up to the very walls, and when their projecting beam with its head of iron began to batter the foundations, not even the grappling irons let down by the defenders could long save the city.

Accordingly, we next see the surrender of the city and the long line of captives, headed by their chief who bows beneath the king's bow and uplifted arrows to kiss the royal feet, the long robed elder, the maiden not spared the indignity of arms bound behind her back as were the captured fighting men. In the field we see the bars of metal, the elephants' tusks, the vessels of various size and design. Finally, we see the return in triumph, the king at his ease in his chariot, his royal standards in the lead. Before the successful troops are the musicians and in ghastly contrast to their melody are the severed heads of the slain which the soldiers are carrying to be counted. Our last memory is that of a vulture with a dripping human head in its claws.⁶²

⁶² The sculptures of Ashur nasir apal have now been collected by Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, 1914. The figure swimming in the river is certainly Shadadu and many other scenes are as certainly on the Euphrates. We are not sure the remainder belong to this region, as is assumed in the text for the sake of presenting a complete picture, but the water at the bottom of the scene in the majority would indicate that they too were along the same river.

The campaign was brought to an end by the erection of a stele in Suru and on it was carved the royal figure with the following inscription: 'Ashur nasir apal, the king, whose glory and power are eternal, whose face is fixed toward the desert, whose heart desires to extend his protection.' The next recorded campaign was in the same territory. While he was still at Kalhu, so the king informs us, men brought the news that the people of Laqe, Hindanu, and Suhi had all revolted and had crossed the Euphrates. Once more in June the king left Kalhu and passed through the desert to Suru of Bit Halupe, not to be confused with the Suru we have just discussed. Ships were constructed and the army drifted downstream or followed on shore until the *hinge* or narrows of the Euphrates were reached. Various cities belonging to Henti ilu and Azi ilu of Laqe land were taken, the plundered section extending from the mouth of the Habur to Šibati in Suhi. At Haridi, the river was crossed on skin vessels of twenty *gur* burden, and the Assyrians gave battle to the allied Aramaean tribes which had gathered on the desert side of the stream. According to the arithmetic of our truthful scribe, 6500 souls were slaughtered out of an army of 6000, leaving a considerable remnant to die of thirst in the Euphrates desert. After this amazing exploit, Azi ilu was driven out of his city of Kipina, his gods were taken prisoner, and he himself was forced to take refuge on the steep mountain of Bisuru opposite the Euphrates. For two days, the Assyrians marched after him, the remnant of his troops,—those of the wonderful six thousand no doubt,—were slaughtered, then pursuit was continued to another narrows where lay Dummutu and Asmu, border cities of Adini, and for the third time it was necessary to slaughter the remnant of his troops. The traditional cat had barely more lives than this minus quantity of five hundred!

At the same time, Ila of Laqe with his five hundred soldiers was deported to Assyria, though this was scarcely important enough to warrant its repetition a second time in slightly altered form. Henti ilu begged the Assyrian pardon and was made a tributary. For the last time in history, we have notice of the pursuit of wild bulls in this region. Fifty were killed and eight taken alive by this mighty hunter, who also killed or captured twenty francolins. More serious duties were not forgotten and

we have the foundation of two cities on the site of the earlier Dummutu and Asmu, Kar Ashur nasir apal and Nibarti Ashur, as a guard for the upper Euphrates.⁶³

The Assyrians had been brought at last by this campaign into direct touch with Bit Adini, the great Aramaean state which controlled the crossing of the Euphrates at the point where it was nearest the Mediterranean. The next, we are not surprised to learn, was against that country itself. The army set forth in June, probably of the year 877, and reached the Adini frontier at the fort of Kaprabi, the 'great rock,' possibly at the later Edessa and certainly not far distant. 'The city was very strong, like a cloud it hung down from heaven!' the siege was no easy matter, and mines, rams, and other engines were brought into play. When it was finally forced to surrender, the city was destroyed and the inhabitants dragged off to Assyria, there to increase the population of the new capital, Kalhu. Ahuni, the ruler of Adini, sent something which was taken to indicate tribute, and the same was true of Habini of Til Abna, in the waste to the south of the last mountain range.⁶⁴

Later in the same year, in September, Ashur nasir apal again left Kalhu for one of the most important expeditions of his entire reign. Traversing the well known mercantile route called the Carchemish road, he came to Bit Bahiani in the steppe. A tribute of horses and chariots added to the efficiency of his army, and a tribute of metals is significant as showing how iron is

⁶³ Ann. 3. 9 ff.—The expedition went down stream, *attarad*, cf. Hommel, *Gesch.*, 578, which effectually disposes of the topography of Maspero, *Hist.*, 3. 29, and of Streck, *OLZ* 9. 97, according to which it went up stream! Šibate is the modern Zibde, a little above Hit, on the natural boundary of Babylonia. Perhaps it is Zibatunu of the letter H. 576. The name of the upper *hinge* is preserved in the classical Anucas, Procop. Aed. 2. 6, the Hanūqā of Yaqut, *s. v.*, cf. Streck, *l. c.*; Bell, *Amurath*, 66.

⁶⁴ Ann. 3. 50 ff.—Students of topography who do not know Assyrian should be on their guard against the mistake of the translation given by Budge-King in 3. 51, where Euphrates is given for Tigris, since Kaprabi was east of the former stream. Winckler, *MVAG* 1913, 4. 82, identifies it with the Kapa of the Kizvadna treaty and Shamshi Adad 1. 47. The Assyrian form, Til Abna, written with the ideograph for 'stone,' is folk-etymology. It is the Thallaba of Tab. Peut., cf. Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 32, n. 2, and the modern Tul 'Aba, south of the Jebel el 'Azîz. This of course makes impossible the identification with Edessa which Billerbeck, *BA* 6. 56, still accepts.

missing as soon as we leave the mountains. That presented by Adad 'ume, the new ruler of Azala, was the same with the addition of flocks, herds, and wine, as befitted a country on the slopes of the foothills. More significant is the statement that the great king levied on Azala for their chariots, cavalry, and foot. Already the foreign cavalry was taking the place of the chariotry, that is not surprising, but that it was necessary to supplement the disappearing native infantry with the 'allied' foot was an omen of portent for the future.

As Bit Adini was approached, Ahuni sent in his tribute, and in its description we clearly recognize how far above the ordinary ruler he was in wealth and in power. In addition to the usual tribute of metals, domestic animals, and wine, we have mention of ivory dishes, ivory beds, thrones of ivory overlaid with gold and silver. Evidently the elephants were not yet extinct in the region where Tiglath Pileser had hunted them.⁶⁵ The golden ring and buckle, the golden necklaces and sword, indicate his wealth and look suspiciously like gifts sent from one great monarch to his equal in rank. Only the contingents of his soldiers serving henceforth in the Assyrian army told the true position of the monarch. In sharp contrast to these regal gifts is that presented by Habini of Til Abna, whose home in the steppe could furnish but four manas of silver and four hundred sheep as a contribution, and a yearly tax of ten manas.⁶⁶

The winter of 877-876 B. C. was spent in quarters in Bit Adini. In the spring, while the Euphrates was still in full flood, the army crossed the river on skins and for the first time in long years an Assyrian force was in Syria. On their approach, Sangara of Carchemish, who boasted the proud title 'King of the Hatte Land,' hastened to tender his submission. Richer even than those of Adini were his gifts, twenty talents of silver, a couch, buckle, ring, and swords of gold, a hundred talents of bronze, and two hundred and fifty of iron, indicating the mineral wealth of the land. Carchemish was also a great commercial center and we further find listed images of the gods in bronze, jugs, bowls, and a censer in the same metal, beds, thrones, and

⁶⁵ Olmstead, *JAOS* 37. 177.

⁶⁶ Ann. 3. 56 ff.—It is probable, though not certain, that this took place in the same year as the preceding, as there are no year indications. It is also possible that the tributes of Ahuni and of Habini are of one date.

tables of ebony, inlaid with ivory in the fashion so common in the east of today, though now the mother of pearl has taken the place of the ivory, whole elephant tusks, semi-precious stones, mantles and other weaves in wool.

Taking with him the troops of Sangara, Ashur nasir apal passed between the hills of Munzigani and Hamurga, left the land of Ahanu on his left hand, and reached the frontier of Lubarna of Patina at Hazazi. Presents of gold, cloths, and cloaks received, he passed on to the river Apre on whose banks he halted, near the spot where now is the bridge on the high road from Aleppo to Alexandretta. Advancing again, he arrived at Kunulua, whence has come a Hittite inscription to mark the race which held it. Lubarna marched forth from his capital and embraced the royal feet. Twenty talents of silver, one of gold, a hundred of lead and of iron, cattle, sheep, cloths, couches, beds and tables of ebony, inlaid with ivory, female musicians, a great *pagutu* beast, weapons, were handed over to the king, and with them went the loan of his troops. At the same time, the Assyrian king received the tribute of Gusi of the land of Iahani, later to be known, from his own name, as Bit Agusi.

The next stage brought Ashur nasir apal to the Arantu, the Orontes river. He then turned south, following up the left bank through the Iaraqu land, and into the Lebanon hills, where he captured another of Lubarna's royal cities, Aribua by name. Assyrian colonists were settled within the walls and for them the grain and chopped straw of the plundered land of Luhuti was stored up.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Ann. 3. 70 ff.—The expedition for the year is also given on the colossal bulls and lions. For date of passage of Euphrates, cf. Rawlinson, *Mon.* 1. 12. The route followed was the Jerabulus-⁴Azâz road, and the mountains must be those of Shehab where only do we find two ranges, Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 39 n. 2; cf. *PSBA* 20. 132 ff. for the campaign. With Mt. Hamurga, we may perhaps compare Beth Amaris of the Peutinger Table; Beth Ammari, Ptol. 5. 14. 10; Pamunari, Rav. 2. 15, located at Qal'at en Nejm, Benzinger, Pauly-Wissowa, s. v.; at Hashle, Chapot, *Frontière* 282. Hommel, *Gesch.* 580 n. 3, reads Hat-ti-na for Pa-ti-na, and has a considerable following, cf. especially Sayce, *PSBA* 21, 200. A 'Hittite Land' with *ina* ending is not impossible, but 'Hatte' is usually found. Hazazu, identified with 'Azâz by Sayce, *TSBA* 7. 292, was taken by Shalmaneser III in 859, *Mon.* 2, 11. Adad nirari led an expedition against it in 805, *Assyr. Chron.* Under Tiglath Pileser IV, it was a city of Bit

The great sea of Amurru, the Mediterranean, was reached by Ashur nasir apal somewhere about the site of the later Laodicea. There was no need of advance further south, for all Phoenicia hastened to send him gifts: Tyre, where there reigned Ethbaal, the father-in-law of the Israelite Ahab, Sidon, Byblus, Mahalata, the 'suburb,' Maiša, and Kaiša, the three towns which were to amalgamate and form the Tripolis of classical times, Amurru,

Adini, 3 R. 10, 3, cf. Rost, *Tiglat Pileser*, 85. As Azazium, it was a place of considerable strength in Byzantine times, and Romanus IV, advancing from Hieropolis in 1068, was unable to take it, Cedren. 2. 492. After the successful defense of Antioch by the Crusaders in 1098, Baldwin was invited by its native prince to save it from the attacks of Ridhwan, Weil, *Gesch.* 3. 169, with the result that, as Hasart, it became one of the most important of the castles and fiefs under the county of Antioch, cf. Rey, *Colonies Franques*, 342. Later, it seems to have fallen into the hands of Zengi, whose son, Salih Ismail, lost it to Saladin after the siege of 1176, only to have it returned to him on the intercession of his little sister, William of Tyre, 7. 3. According to Yaqut, *s. v.*, it had a castle, it was a healthy place with good air, sweet water, and its soil was death to scorpions. We visited 'Azâz May 20, 1908. The mound is somewhat small but high, and was much pitted by native digging. Among the potsherds, we found a three pronged support for pots in the oven, of common yellow clay and bearing traces of vitrification, much of the type found at Nippur, also a grayish black handle with a snake in relief. Between the mound and the town, we found a large quadrangular block of trap on which, in the usual frame, was a Greek inscription to Zeus Megistos erected by the councillor Aurelius and his wife Noia in the second year of Severus Decius. Variant spellings of Kunulua are Kunalia, Kunalua, Kinalia. Sayce, *TSBA* 7. 292, identifies it with Gindarus, Strabo, 16. 2, 8. The identity of name may be deceiving, but Jinderez Tepe is the only mound of first class importance in the region between the 'Afrin and the Orontes, where Kunulua must certainly be located. The matter is further confirmed by the Hittite inscription, which must originally have come from the long mound of Jinderez Tepe, though found at Kirch Oghlu, which Messerschmidt, *OLZ* 2. 35, would make the Hittite site. Its king, Tutammu, was conquered by Tiglath Pileser IV and the land made a province, Ann. 92 ff., and later Babylonian Aramaeans were settled here, *ibid.* 144 ff. Later, Gindarus became the acropolis of Cyrrhестice, and a great resort for robbers. Here the Parthians, under Pacorus, sweeping down the valley toward the sea, during the troubles of the period immediately after the death of Caesar, were met by Ventidius and utterly defeated, Strabo, *l. c.* Its inhabitants were called Gindareni, Plin. 5. 81. Near by we must look for the so called Heracleum, Strabo, *l. c.*, which indicates a sacred place, and so we have a bishop at Nicaea. Remains of St. Marinus were found here in the reign of Justinian, Malalas, 452. Theodoret, *Hist.*

the ancient city which had once given its name to the 'West-land,' to the Amorite people, and to the sea on whose shores it stood, its later representative, Arvad, whose inhabitants had moved out to their island home after Phoenician control of the sea had made it safe from pirate raids.⁶⁸ The gifts presented

Eccl. 2. 1313, calls it a suburb of Antioch. Theodosius the Great walled it, Malalas 346. The Syriac life of St. Simon the Stylite, 98, 143, tells us that Ganadūs had a great spring and Dimashqi, 205, also mentions the hot springs of Jandārus. Iahani seems to be the Ahanu mentioned in 3. 71, which fits well the country later known as Bit Agusi, the region south of Azaz, with Arpad probably its capital, cf. Winckler, *Forsch.* 1. 8. Maspero, 3. 40, places the crossing of the Orontes at Jisr el Ḥadīd, the famous 'Iron Bridge,' but this is too far west. Iaraqu also appears in the Bull inscription of Shalmaneser III, 36, of the year 849. Ia'turi is compared by Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 274, with the Ituraeans. It is Jebel Qosēr and Luhuti is the Laash of the Zakar inscription, Dussaud, *Rev. Arch.* 1908, 1. 225. The *mat . . . ku* is probably to be restored Iaraqu, to correspond with the immediately preceding mountain of the same name. Maspero, *l. c.*, restored Ashtamaku on the basis of the city of that name in the Bulls, 37. Saratini is found by Dussaud, 228, in Jebel esh Shara. Sayce, *RP*² II. 171, reads Kalpani for Duppani. When Dussaud, 227 f., identifies Sangura with the Sarūj, which enters the Orontes north of Hamath and the castle with Qal'at el Hoṣn, he brings the king too far south. Sangura is obviously Shughr, with an important bridge. The last part of the name of the river is *ba-mesh*. Maspero, 3. 40, n. 4, identifies Aribua with Rabao near Mesiad. If this is 'Arbain, S.W. of Shughr, it is on our road.

⁶⁸ Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 283, first saw that we have here the constituents of the later triple city of Tripolis. The original units were a stade apart and were settled by Arvad, Sidon, and Tyre respectively, Plin. 5. 78; Diod. 16. 41. Rawlinson, *JRAS* OS. 12. 430 n. 1, had as early as 1850, identified Amurru with Marathus, which appears as a city of the seacoast opposite Arvad, Diod. 33. fr. 10; Strabo 16. 2. 12. The name is also retained in the river Marathias of Eustathias, *ad Dionys.* 914, and still better in the modern 'Amrit. Like so many another identification of the great discoverer, it has been forgotten by later scholars. The ruins here, the most notable from Phoenician times in the home country, are described by Renan, *Mission*, 59 ff., and were visited and photographed by Messrs. Charles, Wrench, and myself in 1904. The history of the site is not difficult to trace. In the earliest times, perhaps even before the Phoenician immigration, Amurru was the one great city and was located on the mainland. At this date, so important was it that it not only gave its name to North Syria, to the Amorites, and to the Mediterranean, but to Mesopotamia as well, cf. Clay, *Amurru*, *passim*. Later, about a thousand B. C., when the sea became safe for Phoenicians, Arvad was founded on the

are of unusual interest, since they afford our first detailed data regarding the commerce of the Phoenicians, silver, gold, lead, bronze, bronze vessels,—again we note the absence of iron,—colored cloths in which we may perchance see the famous purple, cloaks, a great and a little *pagutu*, box and ebony wood, ivory, a dolphin, for the great Tiglath Pileser had been presented one before. All these spoils of his bow were brought to Kalhu where they were bred in great numbers. Of lions, Ashur nasir apal boasts of having captured fifteen, mighty beasts from the mountains, and fifty cubs were kept in cages in the Assyrian palaces. ‘All the beasts of plain and mountain,’ *mindina*,⁶⁹ wild bulls, elephants, francolins, male and female *pagate*, wild asses, gazelles, stags, *asate*, panthers, *senkurri*, were collected in a huge menagerie in Kalhu. To this, the scribe adds the slaughter of thirty elephants and two hundred and fifty huge wild bulls. At a somewhat later date, the modest number of fifteen captured lions had been augmented to three hundred, and seventy killed was added for good measure.⁷⁰

Whether all these exploits took place on this campaign and in Syria may be doubted and we may conjecture without too much rashness that they extended over the entire earlier half of the reign. Whatever the date of this last campaign, and the date 876 seems the most likely, it does mark the definite close of Assyrian warfare. Perhaps the severities of the last years had made this last campaign a mere collection of tribute;⁷¹ the reason may be found in the growing age of Ashur nasir apal; it may be the fact that half a score of campaigns had weakened the power of the still small kingdom. For the years 875-868, we have one or at the most two expeditions and they were for building material. One was to the Amanus for cedar, cypress,

island. Thus we see why there are no especially early remains on that spot. Still later, when the island became too cramped, a suburb, Antaradus, grew up on the coast, but some distance north of Amrit, and it is this younger site, the Tortosa of the Crusaders, whose magnificent church is untouched and practically unknown, which has developed into the modern Tartûs.

⁶⁹ For reading, Streck, *ZA* 18. 193; a great beast similar to the lion, Meissner, *Alte Orient*, 13. 2. 15, n. 3.

⁷⁰ Bull 77; Budge-King, *Annals*, 201 ff.; Layard, *Ins.* 44. 13 ff.; Peiser, *KB* 1. 124 f. The later record in Layard 44. 23 f.; Budge-King 205.

⁷¹ Rogers, *Hist.* 2. 218.

juniper, and pine, which were intended for the adornment of E shara, the temple of Sin and Shamash, and in the course of it a stele was erected. The other was to the land of the *Mehru* trees which were cut down for the Ishtar temple at Nineveh.⁷²

This long period of almost complete peace was followed by one more campaign of the old-fashioned type. The cause we do not certainly know, whether it was the impatience of the young crown prince, Shalmaneser, for warlike distinction, or whether there was a serious crisis on the northwest frontier. In view of the season of the year at which the troops left Kalhu, September, 867 B. C., it is probable that it was the latter, for we can hardly otherwise understand why the Assyrians could have been induced to begin a war in regions which might soon be closed by the snows. Urartu is once casually mentioned in one of the Standard Inscriptions of Ashur nasir apal, and, in view of the importance that land assumed in the succeeding reign, we can only see in it an attempt to check the Haldian influence in the north.

The results were curiously unimportant. The first recorded halting place was Huzirina, where the king received tribute from the village chiefs of the Qipani land, from Itti, another chief of Azala, from Gir idadi of Ashsha, and from Qataz ilu of Qummuh. The last named furnished cedar, thus affording evidence as to the eastern limit of the precious tree. Thence he marched upstream along the Euphrates through Kubbu and descended into the lands of Ashsha and Kirhi, the last surprisingly far west. The cities of Umalia and Hiranu, on the Adini boundary, were taken. Traversing the pass of Amadani, the Assyrians came out at Dirria, the extreme northern point of the Amedi triangle, which was bounded by the Amadani and Arqania mountains. The land of Mallanu was laid waste, next came the turn of Zamba, the Sua river was crossed, and the troops halted on the Tigris.⁷³

⁷² Ann. 3. 88 ff. For *Mehru*, cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 37. 181, n. 31.

⁷³ Huzirina is one of the revolted cities, Shamshi Adad 1. 48. Its modern representative is seemingly Tell Hazar. Lehmann, *ZA* 9. 88, compares the Cepheneia of Plin. 6. 28, 41, but, from the context, this is clearly near Adiabene, while the Cepheneas, a former name of the Chaldaei, Steph. Byz., s. v. 'Chaldia,' is equally lacking in pertinency. Qipani is the Haldian Gupani, Sayce, no. xxxiii. 4, cf. the Qûbâ of the Arzn region,

Kirhi obeyed anew an Assyrian governor, and the troops set out for the lands of Ilani, the present ruler of Bit Zamani. His two chief forts on the Tigris, Parza Nishtun and Damdamusa, were stormed, and the spoil of heads and of captives taken to the capital Amedi, which was still far from being a provincial headquarters. Indeed, it looks as if the city were not taken. We are told of a pile of heads opposite the city gate, of captives impaled about the town, of plantations cut down, of a conflict within the gate. But nowhere are we told that Amedi was captured and it seems most probable that the Assyrian monarch left the city in disgrace. Entering the pass of Kashiari, and of the city of Allabra, he came before Uda, the fort of Lapṭuri. With this, he was more successful, but it took mines, siege engines, and battering rams before the place could be taken. And with this petty success, following in all probability a failure before Amedi, the wars of Ashur nasir apal came to a close. Of the last six years of the reign, we know absolutely nothing.⁷⁴

letter of Mar Aba, Chabot, *Int. Congr. Or.*, 11. 4. 303, cf. 323. Kubbu must be the Kefr Kab on the Euphrates, north of Birejik. Hiranu is also in the document J. 210. Karania is Kornat, an hour southwest of Adane, which is in turn southwest of Severek and represents Adani. Amadani is preserved in Media, west of Chermük. Sayce, *RP*² 1. 105, n. 2, connects Amadani and Amedi, but the places are quite separate, whatever the etymological connection. Mt. Arqania is the prominent peak which overhangs the modern Arghana. Mallanu is Shêkh Malân south of Dibbene. Zamba may be the Sumbi of the letter H. 312. The Sua is the Deve Gechid Chai, the most important stream of the region.

⁷⁴Ann. 3. 92 ff.—Parza Nishtun, also in the letter H. 170, for division of elements in the name, cf. the Nishtun of Kirhi, Ann. 1. 62. Sayce, *RP*² 2. 174, n. 1, compares the Haldian Barzanish, 'chapel.' The question of the location is bound up with the question of text or of exegesis. Budge-King translate *ina niribi sha shadAmadani ana alParzanishtun attišia* as 'from the pass of the mountain of Amadani I went forth unto the city of Barzanishtun.' Even if the original meaning of *ina* be 'out of,' it is certainly not safe for the modern scholar to take it in that meaning in a purely topographical passage where we should expect *ishtu*. In addition, such a translation would make a serious difficulty, for the Amadani pass has been left in 3. 100, and there has been a decided advance since then. Hardly more satisfactory is the translation of Peiser, 'Im Pass des A. Gebirges kam ich nach B. heraus.' It would be easy to take *ina* *Amadani* with what precedes and make it refer to the installation of a governor in that region, but that would be against the usual order in the language. Perhaps it is easiest to assume that the scribe

The successes of this ruler may be as easily underestimated as exaggerated. He came to the throne when only a beginning had been made in the effort to redeem a long period of inactivity and of virtual failure. He took advantage, it is true, of the upward trend of Assyrian fortunes and the work of his predecessors had laid the foundations, down to the organization of the army. His father, Tukulti Ninib, died after a reign of but five years, too short a time to indicate all that he could accomplish, but in it he had done much. Granting all these initial advantages, no one can deny that Ashur nasir apal used them well. The campaigns of the first ten years were arduous and strategically well carried out. His failure to attack Babylon left his glory less than that of more than one of his predecessors, but it was good statesmanship to leave that city for the present alone, evident though its intrigues might become. He did what he could to hold in check the incoming tribes on the eastern border and it is no disgrace to him if he did not understand the larger issues involved. He did not penetrate as far north as did Tiglath Pileser or as his son Shalmaneser was to do, but he did in some measure check the growing power of Urartu and the successes of his son, ephemeral as they were, were based on his own expeditions. That he did not completely isolate and then conquer the Kashiari region, may be urged against him, but he may have felt that so poor and mountainous a territory was of no great value if conquered and of no danger if properly garrisoned along its border. His most serious mistake, excusable enough in itself, was his western policy and it was to be a fatal heritage to his successor. If Assyria was to

had made a mistake in supposing that the king is still in the Amadani region, for any other conclusion would throw into utter confusion a topography which is fixed with more than the usual certitude. As to the location of the two chief places, they are above Amedi which is mentioned soon after. Parza Nishtun is given first, and so must be 'Ammane Qale, a magnificent isolated rock a mile long and with rock cut steps, at the junction of the two streams which form the West Tigris. Of sites visited by the Cornell Expedition, it easily stands in the very first rank for commanding position. Jobêr Qale is said to be equally notable, Taylor, *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 35. 37, but we were unable to visit it as the entire province was in revolt during our stay. Of Allabra, we can only say that at this time it was somewhere south or southeast of Amedi. For its location under Sargon, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 107.

become a mere robber principality, plundering wherever there was booty, it might be good policy to collect such booty from the rich Hittite states of North Syria or the still richer ones of Phoenicia, or even hope for the day when the conquest of Egypt, equally wealthy and helpless, would be more than a splendid dream. On the contrary, if a true empire was in process of formation, the consolidation of the lands east of the Euphrates was absolutely necessary before further advance be made. Ashur nasir apal was not without some appreciation of this necessity and he attempted to meet it by the formation of new provinces. In spite of his efforts, the close of the reign saw the Amedi region, the Kirhi country south of the Tigris, Bit Adini, and the whole line of the Euphrates, still in large measure independent, though perchance paying a reluctant contribution when the Assyrian king appeared in person and supported by an army. To no small degree, the reign of Ashur nasir apal must be considered a failure. Assyria was enriched by booty, fine palaces were erected, but it was small return for the loss of the native Assyrian peasantry, killed in battle or seduced from the productive life of the country, kept long from their homes, with the consequent falling off of the birth rate, so that their places must be taken by serfs deported from foreign countries. Assyria was too small a country to sustain so great a draft of men and ultimate collapse was inevitable.

We are still far from the conditions of the later Assyrian empire when the mass of letters and of other documents give insight into the inner life of the court or of less exalted folk as well. For us, the only recourse is the long list of officials who year by year gave their name to be used to date events. In his second full year, Ashur nasir apal followed the usual custom and held the eponym office in person. In this, he was succeeded by Ashur iddina, who, by the same rule, should be the *turtanu* or prime minister. This is not the same as the *turtanu* of six years before, nor are the other high court officials, Shimutti aku, Sha Nabu damqa, Dagan bel nasir, and the rest, the same as the men of similar rank who held office under his father. If we can read between the lines of his inscriptions, Ashur nasir apal was a man of strong individuality and it is clear that he followed not the advisers of his father.

The greatest single contribution the Assyrians handed down

to the after world is to be found in their provincial organization and it is to Ashur nasir apal, more than to any other single ruler, that the principles of efficient provincial administration are to be attributed. The first Tiglath Pileser had instituted a yearly tax, and Na'di ilu had been governor of Qummuh in the last year of Tukulti Ninib. Ashur nasir apal no longer is 'king of kings' but 'an appointer of governors, inflieter of service, labor, and serfdom' upon the conquered lands. He is not content with an occasional Assyrian military colony to hold the land in subjection, the entire region is turned into an Assyrian province. With the last expedition, that of 867, Kirhi was established under '*my own*' governor and client princes began to play a part only on the extreme frontier. From his official records, we can learn much of his part in this development. We could learn more were the long list of the governors who acted in turn as eponyms accompanied, as in succeeding reigns, by the name of the province they ruled. Could anything excuse the calculated frightfulness which stirs our horror even at this distance of time, it might be the contribution made by Ashur nasir apal to the government of dependent states.⁷⁵

As in the case of the earlier Tiglath Pileser, our knowledge of the more cultural development of the reign is in large part associated with the building operations. Ashur nasir apal delighted as much in building as in warfare in his earlier years, a fact which may somewhat modify our first impression that he was a mere man of war. From one point of view, the main result of these wars was the furnishing of the needed wealth to construct and adorn and of the men to occupy the new constructions. In justice, it should be noted that not all the material thus secured was carried off to Assyria, for we hear of frequent building operations in the provinces, new walls for the cities, new palaces, new store houses, as, for example, at Tushhan. Intended primarily for the use of Assyrian officials, they had their local value as well. Not the least was the peace established by the bringing of these petty, always warring tribes under one control. The crushing taxation of the Sargonids was far in the

⁷⁵ For a fuller discussion, cf. Olmstead, 'Assyrian Government of Dependencies,' *Amer. Polit. Sci. Rev.*, 12. 63 ff.; 'Oriental Imperialism,' *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 23. 755 ff.

future and the Aramaeans, abandoning their farms as easily and as rapidly as they had their former nomadic life, soon became the traders of the Near East.⁷⁶

Naturally, the majority of his buildings were erected in Assyria. A shrine to the god of dreams, Mahir, was built at Imgur Enlil, east of Nineveh,⁷⁷ and further north steps of yellow limestone point to a palace.⁷⁸ Ashur was virtually abandoned, for, though we have building inscriptions from that site, some like the Standard Inscription save for the omission of the building at Kalhu,⁷⁹ and we also have the erection of colossi, there is not a single reference to the ancient capital in any of the numerous records from the other cities of the empire. During the first few years of his reign, Nineveh was his capital, and, after he had moved away, he repaired the famous Ishtar temple.⁸⁰

Characteristic of the most energetic rulers was their regular refusal to rebuild a palace in a former capital, their insistence on a new establishment in a new city. The shift from Ashur to Nineveh may be given a rational explanation, for Ashur was inconveniently situated, on the edge of the desert, with no fertile territory for back country and inconveniently close to the wandering tribes of the steppe. Nineveh had the prestige of an ancient holy city on a great road, though it may be noted that it too was inconveniently close to another frontier which was exposed to yet fiercer tribesmen. Kalhu was in but slight degree less exposed to raids from the east and was not on the direct line of the road. But we largely waste our time in looking for such causes when the all sufficient reason was the desire of an Assyrian sovereign to be free from the memories of former generations. Another motive suggests itself. Ashur nasir apal is careful to mention the establishments Shalmaneser I colonized

⁷⁶ Add to the list in the annals the large ruin at Abû Maria, visited in 1908 by Professor Wrench and myself, where Layard found bricks of Ashur nasir apal, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 335.

⁷⁷ 5 R. 69 f.; Budge, *TSBA* 7. 59 ff.; Budge-King, 167 ff.

⁷⁸ Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 134. Pottery, black guilloche and honey-suckle, alternating with cone and tulip on pale yellow.

⁷⁹ *KTA* 25; *MDOG* 20, 20 f.; 21. 15 ff.

⁸⁰ Budge-King, 162 ff.

in the north.⁸¹ His son was given the name of the ancient hero. He almost ostentatiously announces that Kalhu had already been occupied by that monarch.⁸² We find it difficult to resist the impression that Shalmaneser must have been something of a patron saint to his successor and that it was in imitation of his action that he made Kalhu his chief city.

When Ashur nasir apal turned his attention to Kalhu, it was a mere mass of ruin heaps. Digging down a hundred and twenty courses to the water level, he rebuilt the great city wall. Within its limits arose a great palace, with apartments finished in cedar and cypress and juniper and ebony, *miskanu* and pistachio and tamarisk. In the gates were 'beasts of the mountains and of the seas, fashioned of white limestone and alabaster.' Thrones of all precious woods and covered with ivory and the metals, the spoil of the lands, were set up within. By its side stood the temple of Ninib, under whose special protection were the new structures. A canal was brought from the Upper Zab, Pati hegalli by name, and along its course could be seen plantations of fruits.⁸³

In proof of these statements, we have the excavations. From Kalhu we know the ground plan of the palace, can enter in imagination the various halls, even of the harem, above all, we can study at our leisure the sculptured scenes upon the walls. In them we find our chief source for the culture of the Middle Assyrian period and can write from them a full chapter in the history of civilization. For our present purpose, we merely note that they exist.⁸⁴

Fate was kind to Ashur nasir apal in that he was not entirely forgotten by later peoples, yet this kindness was somewhat mingled, for he owed this fortune to confusion with the Ashur

⁸¹ Ann. 1. 102.

⁸² Ann. 3. 132 and parallels in building inscriptions.

⁸³ The appendices of all the inscriptions, from the Annals and Monolith down, are more or less full descriptions of the building operations. Perhaps the best is the Calah Wall, Budge-King, 177 ff.; the Ninib inscription, *ib.* 209 ff.

⁸⁴ Cf. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*; *Nineveh and Babylon*; *Monuments of Nineveh*; Bononi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 249 ff.; Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, 2; Maspero, *Hist.* 3. 43 ff.; Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures*.

bani apal whose name was so familiar to the Greeks as Sardanapalus. The earlier Greek writers knew him best. Hellanicus, one of the first Greek historians, it was, in his History of the Persians, who said that there were two monarchs of that name,⁸⁵ and his contemporary, the much maligned Ctesias, approximated his date with startling accuracy, for the three hundred years before Cyrus put an end to the Median power, round number as it is, brings his death to 850 B. C., barely ten years too late. But one may be permitted to imagine the sensations of Ashur nasir apal when he learned that he was remembered only as an effeminate and unwarlike prince!⁸⁶

MAP MEMOIR

Assyrian cartography must begin with Tiglath Pileser I, about 1100 B. C. In the inscriptions of earlier date, names of places are rare and data permitting location still rarer. Topographically, the remaining time may be divided into two periods, 1100-745 B. C., with the records of Tiglath Pileser I, Ashur nasir apal, Shalmaneser, and Shamshi Adad as our main sources, and 745-608 B. C., with the records of Tiglath Pileser IV (to a certain extent forming a transition, though with closer affinities to the later period), Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashur bani apal. The present set of four maps attempts to locate the sites which occur in the records of the first period, and therefore illustrates the earlier article on Tiglath Pileser I, as well as later ones dealing with Shalmaneser and Shamshi Adad. Nos. I and II are drawn from the map of Asia Minor with colored contours edited by J. G. C. Anderson (London, Murray). No. III is a detail map of the region between the two Tigris arms where the material is too abundant to be presented on II. It is based on the 1914 edition of the Diarbekr sheet of the map of Kleinasien by R. Kiepert. No. IV is based on

⁸⁵ Apollodorus, Schol. ad Aristoph., *Aves*, 1021.

⁸⁶ That the quotation is from Ctesias is proved by the direct statement of Nicolaus of Damascus, fr. 8 f.; Athen. 12. 38; Alex. Polyhistor, in Agathias 2. 25. If Hellanicus did not use Ctesias, which is rather improbable, we have a double line of transmission. Eusebius placed him about 835 B. C., *Chron. Ann.* Abrah. 1182 to 1195, according to the various readings, cf. Gutschmidt, *Kleine Schr.* 1. 496.

the Baghdad sheet of the new Millionth Map published by the Geographical Section of the British General Staff. No. V, dealing with the territory northeast of Assyria, and based on the Tabriz sheet of the same, will be given with the study on Shalmaneser whose expeditions it especially illuminates.

The maps here presented are mere sketch maps, intended merely to present the relative position of the places discussed in the text. To be properly understood, they should be compared with the colored contour maps of the General Staff series, or, for the western half, with the Anderson map, for only thus can the names on the maps here presented be brought into relation with the facts of relief which play so large part in their determination, ignored as they too often are. In our maps, the names of lands are in capitals, of towns in lower case. Such of the latter as can be located with exactness are marked with the dot. All others are approximate, but in most cases the limit of error is a very few miles. For further details, reference must be made to the notes of the various articles.



MAP No. II



MAP No. III



MAP No. IV